Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-164
Friday
25 August 1989

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Gremitskikh Conducts 24 Aug News Briefing

Mazowiecki Seen as 'Partner'

LD2408142789 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—"The Soviet side has taken note of the decisions of the Polish Sejm and will, naturally, see Tadeusz Mazowiecki as a partner in affairs linking our countries," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said today in a comment on the Polish parliament's election of a new premier.

Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here that current developments in Poland are very important to both Poland and Soviet-Polish relations.

Commenting on Solidarity leader Lech Walesa's recent interview with the newspaper IL MESSAGGERO, he said that, in the opinion of the Soviet side, Walesa made a pretty clear presentation of the long-term, programmatic goals of the socio-political movement headed by him.

"The remarks by the Solidarity leader will apparently be given a due assessment in Poland. They offer extra food for thought to those taking an interest in changes underway in that country," the spokesman added.

Decries 'Anti-Soviet Action' in Poland

LD2408155489 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Commenting on the August 22, 1989 statement by the Politburo of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee and the August 23 statement by the Polish Sejm in connection with the 50th anniversary of the 1939 Soviet-German non-aggression treaty, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has recalled that the Government of the USSR and the Polish Government in exile, in their July 30, 1941 agreement, already wrote off the 1939 Soviet-German treaties in part related to territorial changes in Poland as invalid.

As to the other aspects related to the non-aggression pact, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Soviet Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here today, "They are to be considered by a special commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies."

"The commission has started its work," he added.

The Soviet spokesman made one more statement in connection with the situation in Poland. On August 23, he said, activists of extremist Polish groups staged an anti-Soviet action which they timed to coincide with the anniversary of the Soviet-German treaty.

"Provocative and insulting remarks about the Soviet Union were made, aimed at complicating Soviet-Polish relations," Gremitskikh said.

"The Soviet side is convinced that the actions of these forces have nothing in common with the stance of the official Polish authorities or with the opinion of broad sections of the Polish people with whom the USSR is linked by traditional close bonds of friendship," he pointed out.

Baltic Demonstrations Noted

LD2408153189 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh pointed to a wide range of judgements both in this country and abroad on the political thrust of Wednesday's [23 August] mass demonstrations in three Soviet Baltic republics.

He drew attention to comments by some Western analysts that "rocking the Soviet multinational boat means also rocking the European and global boat."

Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, added: "Neither exultation nor catcalls should greet these developments, sometimes involving extremist statements and slogans. A more careful and sensible view of the situation is required, with due regard for the fact that we live in a small and interrelated world".

The spokesman stressed that the stability of individual states is an integral part of universal stability.

Urges Negotiations in Afghanistan

LD2408143289 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—"Failing to achieve victory in the battlefield, the Afghan armed opposition is trying to explain it by 'lack of Western military aid', primarily American", it was stated at a briefing here today by Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate.

"The opposition leaders' logic holds no water," he continued. "Not everything is above board with the fulfilment by the United States of its own commitments, assumed at Geneva. There is only one explanation to this: Both are trying to add fuel to the dying down conflagration in Afghanistan."

"Neither of them care for the fate of Afghans, who are perishing senselessly in this war. The military deadlock in Afghanistan is obvious. Negotiations are inevitable. The sooner this is realised in Washington and Islamabad, the less blood will be spilt in this longsuffering land and the Afghans will be able to go over to normal life", the Soviet spokesman emphasised.

U.S. Afghan Policy Criticized

LD2408222389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] In Moscow at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center a briefing on the current matters of the international politics was held. Gremitskikh, the first deputy chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, conducted the briefing. Dwelling on the situation in Afghanistan, he said, in particular:

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] Making a speech at his recent news conference, President Najibullah announced that the United States, by supplying new types of weapons to the armed opposition including missiles with cluster warheads, becomes an accomplice and a protector of the international terrorism. The last 2 days have brought a new corroboration for this conclusion, however sad it is.

On 22 August teenagers found a bomb in a small box and did not know what they had found. They brought it home. The bomb exploded. Two people were wounded. On 23 August the latest opposition shelling of the residential quarters of Kabul. Eleven people were killed and 20 were wounded. On 23 August 16 people were killed and 23 civilian inhabitants were wounded by missile projectiles fired by the opposition on the populated areas of the country. On the same day the Afghan Armed Forces lost 7 people; 18 people were wounded. This response inevitably pleads the question at whom are the weapons, supplied by the United States to Afghan extremists, directed? Official U.S. representatives continue to allege that there is no other solution in Afghanistan but a military solution. This is, of course, if the abovementioned can be referred to as a military as opposed to a terrorist way of solving the problem.

According to today's report by the Voice of America, Senator Pell, head of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has visited Pakistan, holds this view. This, then, means the continuation and escalation of bloodshed in Afghanistan and confirms the idea, expressed by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze in a BAKHTAR interview and expressed by President Najibullah at the previously mentioned news conference, that the United States might turn from—and is already turning from—a guarantor of the Geneva accords into a party in the conflict.

The U.S. partner in the conflict, the irreconcilable opposition, who has been receiving and is still receiving military and financial assistance from Washington, is nevertheless worried about the future of this assistance. The opposition is worried because the entire course of the military action in Afghanistan—that until recently was of an intensive nature—has called the ability of the opposition to solve the conflict militarily into question. Having gained no success on the battlefield, the opposition is preparing to put it down to the absence of Western military help. What a paradox!

The absence of military help, and in the first place that of the U.S.A....[changes thought] It is not clear then what these forces have been fighting with since the month of March. The leaders of the opposition have got some problems with their logic. The United States has some problems concerning fulfillment of its own obligations. There is only one explanation: Both try to fuel the dying flames of war in Afghanistan. [end recording]

Military Use of Science To Be Assessed

LD2408154889 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—A resolution on the impact of scientific and technological advances on international security, which has been adopted by the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly, has led to the formation of an expert group in the USSR to assess and forecast possible military uses of achievements in research and engineering, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said today.

The resolution provides for UN members to create such national groups to monitor scientific and technological advances with potential military applications.

Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing that the Soviet group will periodically report to the UN secretary-general on the results of its work and distribute UN assessments in the USSR.

The group includes prominent Soviet scientists and will work in close contact with the Soviet scientists' committee for peace and against the nuclear threat.

Gremitskikh said that the group will contribute to fruitful cooperation under UN auspices in limiting the development of ever more destructive and dangerous types of arms and weapons systems and in securing transition from super-armament to reasonable defence sufficiency and from senseless and perilous military rivalry to stronger universal peace and international security.

OAU Meeting on S. Africa Discussed

LD2408142189 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—The Soviet Union regards with satisfaction the results reached by the meeting of the committee of the Organisation of African Unity on the south of Africa, which was held in Harare on August 21, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today. The USSR believes that the meeting was another step towards defusing the general situation in the South African region, he said.

In this connection he pointed to the firm intention of all states in the region to look for a political settlement of the most difficult problems from the position of realism.

Gremitskikh said that "at the same time we share a viewpoint confirmed in Harare that till South Africa preserves [as received] the unjust apartheid system, not a single people in southern Africa will feel itself secure and not a single agreement will be lasting. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The Soviet Union backs efforts of African states and principles which are recorded in the document adopted in Harare and which are aimed at real elimination of apartheid and establishment of a truly democratic non-racial society in South Africa, the Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out.

Notes Pakistani's Visit

LD2408173789 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—"The Soviet side has taken note of the decisions of the Polish Sejm and will, naturally, see Tadeusz Mazowiecki as a partner in affairs linking our countries," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said today in a comment on the Polish parliament's election of a new premier. Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here that current developments in Poland are very important to both Poland and Soviet-Polish relations.

Commenting on the situation in Afghanistan, he said that failing to achieve victory in the battlefield, the Afghan armed opposition is trying to explain this by "lack of western military aid", primarily American. "The opposition leaders' logic holds no water", the spokesman continued. "Not everything is above board with the fulfillment by the United States of its own commitments, assumed at Geneva. There is only one explanation to this: Both are trying to add fuel to the dying down conflagration in Afghanistan".

Noting that the military deadlock in Afghanistan is obvious, Gremitskikh said negotiations are inevitable. He said the sooner this is realised in Washington and Islamabad, the less blood will be spilt in Afghanistan.

Gremitskikh noted that the results of a meeting of the committee for South Africa of the Organisation of African Unity held in Harare on August 21 are appraised in the Soviet Union with satisfaction and are viewed as another step to a comprehensive settlement in the South African region.

He said the USSR shares the viewpoint confirmed in Harare that as long as the inequitable apartheid system is preserved in South Africa, not a single people of South Africa will feel secure and not a single agreement will be regarded as durable. Proceeding from this stand the Soviet Union supports efforts of African countries, the principles laid down in the document adopted in Harare, aimed at a real dismantling of apartheid and the creation of truly democratic non-racial society in South Africa.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman told reporters that USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Komplektov today received Pakistan's Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting Javed Jabbar now staying in Moscow at the invitation of the news agency of the Soviet Union, TASS. They discussed prospects for the development of Soviet-Pakistani relations. During the discussion of international problems, the main attention was given to the situation with Afghan settlement.

The USSR Foreign Ministry holds consultations with a large number of the United Nations member countries in preparation for the 44th session of the United Nations General Assembly, Gremitskikh said. The aim of the consultations is to exchange opinions on the main questions of the forthcoming session. During the consultations the Soviet side sets out its concept of advance to a new world order through a consensus of humanity, the task of creating effective mechanisms for the ensurance of security of states, above all by political means. He noted that all consultations are held in a constructive, benevolent spirit.

The spokesman assessed a session of the United Nations special committee on decolonisation that closed in New York. During the session the delegates discussed a broad range of questions of the situation in the remaining colonial territories, as well as various aspects of the problem of decolonisation. The spokesman said the debate had reflected the increasing assertion in world politics of the principles of the new political thinking which is based on the recognition of a sovereign right of each people to choose its own forms and ways of social development, to ensure security above all by political means in the process of democratisation, demilitarisation and humanisation of international relations.

Answering a question about the situation in Lebanon, Gremitskikh said that the Soviet side intends to use all political and diplomatic means to help ease the acute Lebanese crisis.

United States & Canada

Cheney Speech Criticizing Defense Cuts Rebutted

Speech Called Cheney's 'Toughest'

LD2408193189 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Commentary by TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev: "Cheney's Toughest Speech—TASS Comment"]

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The speech U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney delivered in Las Vegas, Nevada, was unanimously appraised by U.S. news agencies as his toughest speech from the moment he assumed the post. One cannot but go along with this appraisal. It should also be added that the speech abounds in old cliches which the world public has started to forget.

Cheney surprised the world by saying: "If anything, the United States is facing a more formidable offensive strategic arsenal today than before Mr. Gorbachev took power."

How does the U.S. defense secretary substantiate these conclusions? He asserts that "the Soviet Union has been making major improvements to every leg of its strategic arsenal" and is getting stronger "in systems ranging from intercontinental missiles and bombers to submarines and strategic defense." Cheney declares: "Although there has been talk of a 14 per cent cut in its defense budget, since 1985 Soviet defense expenditures have actually increased by an average of three per cent per year in real terms."

As to "major improvements to every lag of the Soviet strategic arsenal," the USSR has certainly been taking definite measures to upgrade its strategic arms, which is quite natural, as long as the United States is doing the same. But the Soviet Union, as distinct from the United States which violated the SALT-2 treaty during the Reagan administration, continues to observe all the provisions of the treaty, and besides that does not develop nor test space arms and is not planning to deploy a large-scale ABM system.

As regards the defense budget, the U.S. defense secretary must surely be aware of the published data on the USSR's defense expenditures. They were frozen in 1987-1989, which resulted in the saving of ten billion rubles. The USSR's military expenditures are to be cut within two years by another ten billion rubles, or 14 percent, under the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted on March 21, 1989. The total saving on defense expenditures will amount to nearly 30 billion rubles as compared with the endorsed five-year plan. So Cheney's statement about the growth of the Soviet defense budget does not hold water.

Why should the Pentagon chief need all these insinuations? The explanation is simple: The Defense Department's budget for the 1990 financial year is being discussed by the U.S. Congress. And the House of Representatives has dealt a telling blow at the Department of Defense by cutting appropriations on the programme of strategic arms.

So a recourse to an old recipe was made. The thesis about "the Soviet military menace" which influenced the minds without fail in the past was unearthed from the Pentagon's archives. All this is familiar. It can be recalled how in the fifties it was declared that the United States lags in strategic bombers and the thesis about "a lag in missiles" was advanced in the early sixties. And when the Pentagon received the funds, it turned out that there had been no threat at all. American experts describe that method as a deliberate manipulation or at least autosuggestion.

The times have changed considerably now, and the American public and the U.S. Congress can hardly be swayed by the Pentagon and fall for manipulations and autosuggestion.

Soviet Policies Said 'Absolutely New'

LD2408173189 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 24 Aug 89

[From the "News and Views" program; Spartak Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] Speaking in Las Vegas, Nevada at a national convention of veterans of foreign wars, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney claimed that in its cuts in military spending the United States Congress was guided by imaginary changes in the Soviet Union and that under Mr Gorbachev the Soviet strategic arsenal was becoming more dangerous. Spartak Alekseyev makes the following comments:

Over the past decades we've heard similar statements by the leaders of the Pentagon before the approval of the military budget in Congress many times and the starting point has always been the same—the Soviet Union is superior or almost superior in the military field. This did not prevent the Pentagon from boasting about American successes in the arms race after getting the necessary sums, or comparing these successes with Soviet backwardness in science and technology. This simple trick of pressuring Congress to spend more on defense could be justified to some extent in the recent past when the Soviet Union permitted itself to be dragged into the arms race and tried to neutralize American military programs with its countersteps. However, the situation has drastically changed under Mr Gorbachev.

The Soviet Union has proclaimed and is carrying out an absolutely new foreign policy and general security concept. The Soviet Union and other Warsaw treaty countries have adopted a new defense military doctrine. They

are slashing armed forces, armaments and military budgets and converting the defense industry. It is the new political thinking formulated by President Gorbachev that has allowed for the first time in history to begin true disarmament—work under the Soviet-American intermediate range nuclear missile treaty and talks on the reduction of strategic armaments and conventional armed forces. The USSR Supreme Soviet has sent a proposal to the United States Congress to stop all nuclear tests. Speaking in Congress last month Marshal Akhromeyev also mentioned other Soviet initiatives: the abstention of the Soviet Union from the deployment of strategic armaments of new types in the 1990's if the United States agrees to observe the 1972 Anti-Ballastic Missile Treaty; the readiness of the Soviet Union to conclude an agreement on the limitation and reduction of military studies and research; the plans of the Soviet defense industry to cut down the production of tanks by over 40 percent by the end of 1990 and overall production by 20 percent. According to the American press, it's not accidental that for the first time people applauded at such hearings at Congress; it was Congress members, diplomats, representatives of the Pentagon and intelligence circles who applauded. Emotions are not the most important thing of course; the very atmosphere and essence of world politics and Soviet-American relations have changed. This was also confirmed by the recent visit to the Soviet Union by the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff William Crowe and the tour of Soviet military facilities by a delegation of the House Armed Services Committee led by Les Aspin. In his report William Crowe suggested abandoning the confrontation legacy of the postwar epoch. We want, he said, to outlined a course that would allow to prevent the harmful effect of the past. [as heard] He thought it much reasonable to move gradually, taking considered, even steps (?as the cost would be clearing).

Failures of U.S. Trident-2 Missile Program Noted

PM2408152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Sukhoy report: "Sacred Cow; Trident-2 Mishap"]

[Text] New York, 22 Aug—Last week a Trident-2 intercontinental ballistic missile, with which the Pentagon is planning to equip U.S. submarines, blew up when it had scarcely broken the surface of the water. So, of the three test launches from the "Tennessee" nuclear submarine, two have ended in failure. It would seem that there are easily explicable reasons for legislators' and military specialists' dissatisfaction. But no one is expressing any dissatisfaction or even concern. Why?

The fact is that from the very beginning the program to create the Trident-2 missile was, as they say, "doomed to success."

The Trident-2 missile has a great deal of support primarily because it is believed to be the least vulnerable and thus also the most promising form among U.S. nuclear weapons. For example, its ground-based equivalent—the MX missile system—or the B-2 Stealth bomber have serious shortcomings and are always at the center of fierce debates.

Another very important factor is that the "Lockheed" company, which makes the Trident-2, has been very thorough in its commitments. The program is being fulfilled according to schedule—no delays with the tests, and no budget overrun. Before the underwater launches began the missile successfully passed 16 of the 18 ground-based tests. So, even such critics of many Pentagon ventures as Les Aspin, chairman of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, and Democratic Senator Carl Levin were among the the program's supporters.

There is one more not insignificant detail: The U.S. Department of the Navy stopped production of Trident-1, the precursor of the Trident-2 missile, and so there is no alternative to the missile's latest modification and none is foreseen.

At the same time the amount spent on producing each missile is not so small—from $25-30 million.

So, it seems that the Trident-2 will remain a "sacred cow" until it becomes operational. In addition, it has been announced that Britain will purchase this ballistic missile to equip its submarine fleet. Admittedly, U.S. Navy spokesmen do not rule out the possible emergence of difficulties during the discussion of the military budget's final sum for the next fiscal year in the conference committee of both houses in the U.S. Congress. If such difficulties arise, they already have a clearly worked out strategy and tactics: "We will take up an offensive position. We will win over everyone capable of listening to us." There is only one thing that is unclear: Will the missile fly?

China

Official Views Educational Cooperation With China

OW2408151589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] The new school year will begin soon. It is very likely in the future that Soviet and Chinese students will be guests in each other's country. For the moment, it is impossible to tell when students from two countries will be able to exchange visits. However, educational experts from the two countries have engaged in talks about this. (Leonchiyeva), a responsible person of the Soviet Committee for Public Education, spoke to our station reporter about this. She has recently returned from China, where she attended a regular meeting of the Soviet-Chinese working group.

(Leonchiyeva) said that a proposal on the problem of developing cooperation in the area of general and secondary education was raised for the first time at the working group meeting. Prior to this, the Soviet Union and

China chiefly developed contacts between institutions of higher learning. This spring, the first group of experts from our country arrived in China. During their stay in China, the members of the group reached an agreement on establishing bilateral ties. Included in the agreement is cooperation between the Soviet Educational Publishing House and China's People's Educational Publishing House. An agreement has already been signed.

Representatives from the two publishing houses reached an agreement on establishing direct contact and exchanging experience. A group whose task is compiling Chinese language textbooks for Soviet schools and a group whose task is compiling Russian language textbooks for Chinese students have been set up. The cooperation between the publishing houses will constantly improve the contents of these textbooks, because vocabularies and teaching methods change with the passage of time. Therefore, it is required of them to make joint compilation and revision.

(Leonchiyeva) said: The signed cooperative document will first of all make us go into more detail in our discussion of the problem of contacts in the area of general and secondary education, and then regarding the exchange of experts. It will make us consider the problems of setting up schools for teaching the Chinese language and Russian language in border areas and the problem of student exchanges. In addition, some schools in Moscow will probably establish a direct relationship with some Chinese schools. This prospect is very realistic. During my stay in China, I visited some secondary schools in Beijing, Shanghai, and Urumqi. I want to point out that the educational level in Beijing schools is rather high. I am particularly impressed with the teaching style at a specialized school in Shanghai. Particular stress is placed on studying a foreign language, the Russian language included, at that school. Students from all corners of Shanghai attend this school. Before being admitted to this school, candidates have to take a rigorous entrance examination.

In the Soviet Union, there are similar schools which place particular stress on studying a foreign language. Schools that specialize in the teaching of the Chinese languages increase every year. For example, Moscow boasts two such schools. Of particular note is a school in Kiev, whose major area of teaching is the Chinese language. This school has expressed its intention to establish direct ties with similar schools in China. Right now, the school principal and a teacher of this school are visiting China and discussing the problem of establishing direct relations with Chinese schools.

The cooperation between the two countries in the area of general and secondary school education may lead to the establishment of ties between the educational experts of the two countries. (Leonchiyeva) held that these contacts are of particular importance, because there are many beneficial things in the educational systems of each country. Lectures, seminars, and an exchange of experts will bring out all the beneficial things in both China's and our country's teaching. Lectures on the problems of reform in Soviet secondary education are now beginning in China. Soviet experts, like Razumovskiy, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, has introduced to Chinese counterparts changes, meaningful experiments, new educational materials, and new educational methods in Soviet schools in recent years.

(Leonchiyeva) concluded: Soviet educators will convey to other Soviet counterparts all the beneficial information obtained from China.

PRC Leaders Address Organizational Cadres

PM2408140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening The Party"]

[Text] Beijing, 22 Aug—The all-around strengthening of party building is a reliable guarantee of the implementation of reform and the policy of openness to the outside world and the socialist modernization of China. This was stated by CPC Central Committee General Secretary Jiang Zemin, speaking at a national conference of personnel of CPC committees' organizational departments.

It is necessary today to correctly assess the situation in the party ranks, he said. There are currently 48 million Communists in the CPC and around 3 million primary party organizations. The Chinese Communist leader noted that there are many problems in the party, the gravity of which was demonstrated by recent events in the capital.

The conference was then addressed by Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and PRC State Council premier, who also pointed out that former CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang not only made mistakes which took the form of support for the disturbances and a party split, but also, as general secretary, called for the transformation of the party and weakening and virtual elimination of the party leadership. All this had a most serious effect on party building. Li Peng stressed that the last CPC Central Committee plenum had created a new party leadership nucleus and support for it on the part of all Communists is an extremely important factor in the stability of party and state.

PRC Daily Cited on Political Problems, Students

LD2408203689 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Beijing August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Tomilin:

"The recent disorders and mutiny in the capital have shown that many students suffer from one shortcoming: Inability to grasp China's concrete realities. Many young people are beset by 'democratic reveries', though it is simply impossible to reach a high level of democracy

overnight", it is pointed out in today's issue of RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

The main trends of socialist democratisation, the newspaper points out, include the tasks of raising the role of congresses of people's repesentatives, consolidating the system of multipartisan cooperation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, developing democracy at different echelons of society. Ruled out, however, is any copying of bourgeois political models.

In the conditions of China, which is a developing country with a feudal past of many thousands of years, in a country which is economically and culturally backward, democratic development is delayed by numerous arresting factors. This determines the process's gradual character. Under correct party leadership the enthusiasm and democratic zeal of the young, students included, may become a positive factor contributing to democratisation. This time, however, their aspirations were exploited by a handful of hostile elements. This produced an opposite result, led to riots which torpedoed democracy.

The party newspaper stresses that it is important for the young people to understand correctly the relationship between democracy and legality. Democratisation of society, it notes, cannot proceed otherwise than on lines of socialist legality. Democracy and the law are two components of law and order in a socialist state. Recalling of the tragic experience of the "Cultural Revolution", RENMIN RIBAO points out that "all hopes for democracy are futile without law and order".

Northeast Asia

USSR-Japan Economic Committee Meeting Opens

OW2508081089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] The 12th USSR-Japan Joint Economic Committee opened its session in Moscow today. Attending the session from the Japanese side is a 219-member delegation led by Ryoichi Kawai, president of Komatsu Company, Ltd.

Messages wishing the success of the committee session, sent by Soviet Premier Ryzhkov and Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu, were read at the opening session. Premier Ryzhkov stated that activities of both Japanese and Soviet industrial circles will help promote mutual understanding and strengthen trust between the two nations, while Prime Minister Kaifu expressed his wishes for a complete resumption of activities that will promote bilateral cooperation.

'Large' Study Mission To Visit Japan

OW2408150889 Tokyo KYODO in English 1408 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 24 KYODO—Soviet and Japanese business delegates agreed Thursday in Moscow that a large Soviet mission be sent to Japan for study of Japanese enterprises and the market economy.

The agreement came at the meeting of the trade panel on the second day of the 12th joint meeting of the Japan-Soviet Business Cooperation Committee, and its Soviet counterpart, the Soviet-Japan Business Cooperation Committee, now under way in the Soviet capital.

Details of the Soviet mission's itinerary will be worked out later.

The Soviets also expressed a wish to open a representative office of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which now has sharply increased powers over Soviet enterprises, in Tokyo. The Soviets also proposed that Japanese and Soviet banks should open branches in each other country.

The Soviets further called for a relaxation of the embargoes of the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls (Cocom).

The Japanese stressed the need for the two sides to have common knowledge of the other's enterprises and market if Japanese investments in the Soviet Union are to be stepped up. To step up the exchange of information between the two countries, the Japanese called on the Soviets to make clear who in the Soviet Government agencies and enterprises should be contacted.

The Japanese asked the Soviet-Japan Business Cooperation Committee to set up a Soviet version of the working party of the Trade Subcommittee of the Japan-Soviet Business Cooperation Committee. Japan's working party is made up of 14 Japanese trading giants.

The trade panel meeting was attended by about 100 Japanese representatives, led by Yohei Mimura, chairman of Mitsubishi Corp. About 40 Soviet representatives also attended the meeting.

Study for Far East Joint Venture Planned

OW2508004689 Tokyo KYODO in English 0007 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 25 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union have reached an agreement to conduct a feasibility study on a joint venture for paper and pulp products in the Soviet Far East, Japanese sources here said Friday.

The agreement came at a session of a working group on Thursday of the three-day bilateral economic cooperation conference here that began Wednesday, a Japanese delegate said.

The 12th meeting of the Joint Committee on Economic Cooperation, which followed a Tokyo meeting in January 1988, is headed by Ryoichi Kawai, chairman of Komatsu Ltd. and Vladislav Malkevich, head of the All-Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Under the accord, both countries will launch a study group next month on the plan to build a complex with an annual output of 200,000 tons of craft paper in Poronaisk, a seaport town in southern Sakhalin, Jiro Kawake, chairman of Oji Paper Co., who co-chaired the working group for the project, said.

The new 100 billion yen factory will be constructed on the site of a plant formerly owned by Oji Paper in the prewar period, when southern Sakhalin was under Japanese rule, Kawake said.

The working group is to iron out details of the project, including the share of both sides in the joint venture and arrangements for Japan to buys chips or pulp from the Soviet Union in return for investment, he said.

The project will be joined by 20 Japanese companies under the leadership of Oji Paper and Mitsui and Co., Kawake added.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Aquino Asks for ASEAN Views on U.S. Bases

LD2408201289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 24 Aug 89

["Mayak" commentary by Igor Surguchev]

[Text] Speaking at a parliamentary assembly of ASEAN in Manila, Corazon Aquino, the Philippines' president, called on this regional grouping's member countries to determine clearly their attitude to the stationing of U.S. military bases on her country's territory. Returning to the problem of U.S. bases at the news conference that took place later, the president noted that the issue of their future remains in the balance so far because the agreement between Washington and Manila on the presence of the Pentagon's installations in the Philippines expires in September 1991. Here is a Mayak commentary. Igor Surguchev is at the microphone:

[Surguchev] So, as follows from Corozan Aquino's pronouncements, her government is going to take into account the position of other ASEAN member countries on this issue, which is acute for the Philippines, when solving the issue of the future fate of U.S. bases. Therefore, she would like to learn the overall views of the Philippines' partners in the regional association on U.S. military presence in the region. It seemed that they should have had a common and unequivocal approach to the issue, for they have proclaimed as their goal the turning of Southeast Asia in a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality and a nuclear-arms-free zone. The presence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines, which—as many people not only in the island republic but also beyond its borders believe- -have nuclear arms, does not tie up with this goal at all. The recent Singapore offer, however, to provide territory for U.S. military installation has given rise to doubts about the ASEAN member-countries' negative attitude to the U.S. military presence in the region. According to AFP, it has caused cracks in the ASEAN structure. Malaysia and Indonesia have condemned Singapore's initiative. Thialand has supported, while Brunei has not responded to it so far. It seems that certain member-countries of the association support Washington's thesis to the effect that U.S. bases in the Philippines substantially ensure regional security and would not mind keeping them in the region after 1991, if only by restationing them from the Philippines to another site. Properly speaking, this is what Singapore's offer evidences. Such a turn of events, in my view, casts a shadow over the prospects for eliminating the Pentagon's strongholds in the Philippines and makes more complicated the tasks of those Philippine fighters who wish to strengthen the country's sovereignty and security. Still, I think that the people of the republic and its parliament where an opposition to the idea of extending the agreement with the United States will say their decisive word. The thing is that fewer and fewer people believe in the Philippines that the U.S. military presence ensures the country's security, especially now when, in conditions of slackening international tension, a real threat to it is difficult to discover even with a magnifying glass. And, however, nobody dares predict the result of the struggle around U.S. bases in the archipelago. The Philippine advocates of keeping them have influence, and Washington, too, has quite a few levers to bring pressure to bear on Manila. The sounding out of the sides' position on the eve of new talks on the bases seems to start in November when President Aquino makes an official visit to the United States.

Laos, PRC Restore 'Interparty Links'

PM2408130989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent P. Tsvetov: "Interparty Links Restored"]

[Text] Vientiane, 23 Aug—The achievement of an accord on reestablishing relations between the Lao People's Revoutionary Party [LPRP] and CPC is the main outcome of the week-long visit to China by a Lao delegation headed by Thongsavat Khaikhamphithoun, member of the LPRP Central Committee and first deputy chief of the LPRP Central Committee International Department, which has now ended. This brings to a close an unpleasant chapter in the history of relations between the two neighboring states, in which many years of combat solidarity in the struggle for revolutionary ideals were replaced by a period of alienation. The "cold" decade was of no possible good to either side, but it was more difficult bridging the gulf than creating it.

As has been the case with other countries following the socialist path, China's normalization of relations with Laos first proceeded along state and trade lines, and only then along party lines.

On this occasion interstate relations were discussed as well as interparty relations. During the talks there was a

thorough examination of preparations for an official summit visit to the PRC by a Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] delegation.

The LPDR representatives also visited the Chinese province of Yunnan, which borders on Laos. One of the aims of the visit was to strengthen multifaceted links between the inhabitants of the two countries' border regions. It should be noted that they are developing particularly successfully at the moment.

Official announcements on the Lao delegation's visit to the PRC stress that the improvement of Lao-Chinese relations accords with the modern trend toward peaceful coexistence and development of international relations. In fact, yet another important step has been taken in that direction. A step that is bound to cause satisfaction among socialist countries and all over the world.

Near East & South Asia

Syria Urged To Avert 'Major Crisis' in Lebanon

JN2408165589 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 23 Aug 89 p 16

[Excerpt] Paris, AL-QABAS—AL-QABAS has learned from well informed East European sources that the Soviet leadership sent an urgent message to the Syrian Government urging Syrian officials to refrain from any acts or taking any measures or steps in Lebanon that might lead to a major military escalation. In its message to the Syrian Government, the Soviet leadership stressed the need to avoid any direct or indirect military confrontation between the Syrians and the French naval fleet which will deploy off the Lebanese coast by the middle of this week.

The sources told AL-QABAS that the USSR made this urgent and unannounced move toward Syria following consultations between Moscow and Washington and between Moscow and Paris.

The sources indicated that the Soviet leadership has serious fears about the possibility of a major crisis in Lebanon and the Mediterranean region if Syria reacts militarily—directly or through its Lebanese allies—to the presence of the French naval fleet in the region or to its operations, whether they involve the provision of humanitarian and medical assistance to the Lebanese, transporting the wounded and injured, or evacuating French nationals and Lebanese citizens. The Soviets are well aware that the French will react, either in self-defense or to protect their personnel, ships, and mission, if the operations of the French fleet are exposed to attacks or shelling. The Soviet officials are also aware that the French fleet has an enormous military capability allowing it to respond to such attacks and to destroy various positions and targets if the entire operation turns into a military confrontation.

The French fleet dispatched to Lebanon includes the huge aircraft carrier "Foch" and seven other ships, including five warships and two logistical ships. The fleet is equipped with all types of assault warplanes, missiles, and electronic military equipment, which are capable of conducting various military missions if the need arises.

Hence, the Soviet officials seek to avoid a major crisis in the Mediterranean and find themselves in a difficult and embarrassing situation, particularly as they are bound to Syria by a friendship and cooperation treaty.

For their part, French officials were anxious to stress during recent contacts with U.S., Soviet, and European officials, and some Arab states, that the basic mission of the French fleet is confined to securing the suitable security, political, and humanitarian climates to begin a dialogue among the Lebanese parties to reach an agreement on a formula for a political and peaceful solution to the Lebanese crisis.

The presence of the French fleet off the Lebanese coast will bring pressure designed to prevent the occurrence of any operations seeking to settle the situation militarily in the Lebanese arena and to convince the various Lebanese and non-Lebanese parties of the need to come to the negotiating table, offer mutual concessions, and reach a solution formula acceptable to the various parties.

Well-informed Western sources in Paris informed AL-QABAS that the EC member states fully support the French moves and that Bush administration officials also understand the French moves and their dimensions. The sources added that Soviet officials have not voiced any objections or protests against the French moves. They went on to say that the Soviet officials believe that benefits can be gained from the French operation in facilitating a peaceful solution to the Lebanese crisis. Moreover, several Arab states support the French moves, but without announcing their support, especially as Syrian officials have rejected the Arab working plan drawn up by the Arab tripartite committee tasked with resolving the Lebanese crisis. This plan provides for a phased Syrian troop withdrawal in accordance with a timetable. It also calls for the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese troops from Lebanon. The plan further calls for the introduction of drastic political and constitutional reforms in the Lebanese system. [passage omitted]

French Military 'Threat' to Lebanon Viewed

LD2408204189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Commentary by Boris Prakhomenko]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Prakhomenko] The action of France with regard to the Lebanon is in fact a threat of military intervention—such is the unanimous opinion of the world press. History has already furnished an example of how such actions end. The destruction of hundreds of Americans, and the inglorious exit of the United States from the Lebanon could not be averted by all the might of the U.S. 6th Fleet.

The task of the world community is to create the conditions for setting going a political dialogue between the Lebanese groupings, to cease provocative external interference and to provide humanitarian aid to this country, which has for many years been suffering from internecine feuds.

Special Envoy Tarasov Arrives in Beirut

LD2408164689 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, has decided to send his special envoy (Jean Claude Aime) to Morocco, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia to revitalize the efforts of the Committee of Three of the Arab League on Lebanon.

Meanwhile it has been reported that the deputy soviet foreign minister special envoy on Middle East Affairs, Gennadiy Tarasov, has arrived in Beirut to meet representatives of the conflicting sides there.

Before that he visited Damascus. In his speech before departure from the Syrian capital Tarasov said that there could not be an alternative to political settlement in Lebanon.

Biryukov Assails U.S. Interference in Afghanistan

LD2408161389 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Birykov:

Paraphrasing U.S. politicans' well-known "disarmament through rearmament" formula as applied to regional conflicts, one can sum up Washington's approach to the Afghan problem as "a settlement through conflict escalation".

Only recently Peter Thomsen, the U.S. "ambassador to the Peshawar-based Afghan armed opposition, asserted that the United States would support the Afghan rebels under any conditions. U.S. supplies of missiles of increasing range and firepower have become part of this support.

Another Washington representative has now spoken on the same theme. Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on a visit to Islamabad, reaffirmed the U.S. policy of intensifying armed interference in Afghan affairs.

He favoured continued U.S. shipments of arms and equipment to the Afghan rebels and said that Washington "may even raise the military ante by giving them tanks and bombs...if there is no other solution".

This illustrates Washington's cynical attitude to its duties as a guarantor of the Geneva agreements on a politcal settlement of the Afghan problem.

It also amounts to direct armed aggression against Afghanistan and is further evidence of the U.S. policy of state terrorism against regimes Washington doesn't like.

While in Pakistan, Pell met leaders of the so-called interim government formed by the efforts of the Pakistani secret services. He assured them that the United States would continue to support their self-proclaimed "government".

Aware of fierce bickering in the armed oposition camp, the senator warned its leaders that "the more there is an increase of this sort of thing, the more the chance that (U.S. congressional support) will decrease".

It is hardly surprising therefore that the "government", bankrolled by the United States, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, rushed to reject the latest proposals of the lawful Afghan Government for a settlement in the country.

The sham "government" also reiterated that it would continue the policy of bloodshed until "the capitulation of the Kabul regime," in other words, it would continue the fratricidal war which has already spelt incredible destruction, suffering and casualties for the Afghan people.

President Najibullah's proposals, timed to coincide with the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence, offer really broad opportunities for ending the protracted conflict.

Taking into account the complexity of the situation in the country, they represent at the same time the whole gamut of interests of different sections of war-weary Afghan society.

The proposals are not only aimed at putting an end to the war and ensuring political rights for all Afghans, they are an action program for enabling them to express their will freely and creating a new parliament and government in the country.

Supporting the policy of preserving and even escalating the conflict in Afghanistan, Washington appears before the world as an advocate for the use of force and for continued world tension and an opponent of the right of peoples to free development.

Varennikov Denies Army Advisers in Afghanistan

PM2308152089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 20 Aug 89 p 1

[Interview with USSR Land Forces Commander in Chief Valentin Varennikov by Yuriy Teplyakov: "The Russians Return to Afghanistan?"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] This is the impression one can get from certain foreign news agencies. Quoting sources in the military opposition to Najibullah's government, they allege that 1,500 Soviet military advisers operate near Qandahar, Khowst, Jalalabad and Herat.

MN analyst Yuriy Teplyakov turned for information to Army General Valentin Varennikov, Commander-in-Chief of the USSR Land Forces.

MN: Are we dealing with an information leak? How can the opposition forces quote the exact figure: 1,500?

"I rememebr how in 1987, when I was stationed in Afghanistan the opposition reported fighting around Qandahar, and quoted details like 5 Soviet fighters downed, 18 tanks destroyed, 462 Soviet paratroopers killed. Terrible losses, aren't they? My first thought was they had concealed the tragedy that took place there. I telephoned our headquarters to inquire about the situation around Qandahar. They said the past week was the quietest they'd seen.

"Another example. It was reported worldwide that Afghan aircraft had bombed Pakistani territory. I immediately turned to the United Nations representative demanding an investigation under their auspices. We agreed on the details, but at the last minute Pakistan said there was no need for an investigation: There was nothing to investigate.

"And now the lie about 1,500 advisers. It's a deliberate lie, too. On the one hand, the opposition is trying to inspire their field commanders by saying they are fighting against the Russians, and so will spill their blood in the name of Islam. On the other hand, they are trying to convince the world that the Soviet Union violates its commitments."

MN: Are there or aren't there any Soviet servicemen in Afghanistan?

"There are. There's a group of 30 or so experts. The number fluctuates between 25 and 35 depending on the type of armaments supplied to the Afghan army at the moment.

"There are no other Soviet advisers, either at the Afghan army headquarters, or in the firing lines. I have just talked to Kabul on the phone. This information is absolutely up-to-date.

"I'm not surprised at their lies. It's just another weapon to fight for an unjust cause. The important thing for them is to say it out loud. Who cares if it's proved untrue later?"

Afghan Rebels Reject Najibullah Proposals

LD2508202489 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 24 TASS—The so-called "transitional mujahid government" based in Peshawar, has rejected the latest proposals of the Afghan leadership aimed at restoring peace in Afghanistan. Reports received here indicate that the "Government's" spokesman has stated at Islamabad this Wednesday that Najibullah's proposals were a "batch of bankrupt ideas". It is common knowledge that the plan for settling internal Afghan differences peacefully, which the Afghan president put forth on August 19th, contained such concrete and realistic proposals as the opening of a dialogue between the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and all other Afghan groupings, as well as Afghans who are interested in stopping the bloodshed. It provides for the holding of an all-Afghan peace conference and formation by it of a plenipotentiary governing council. Envisaged also is a 6-month ceasefire, which is to be announced at the conference. During this period the governing council must form a broadly based coalition government, elect a commission to draw up a new draft constitution and to call a traditional loya jirgah [grand assembly] for its endorsement. In his broadcast statement, devoted to the 70th anniversary of the restoration of Afghanistan's independence, President Najibullah moved also to hold an international conference on Afghanistan.

Afghan Ministers Send Protest Message to UN

LD2408232489 Moscow TASS in English 2254 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] New York August 25 TASS—Afghanistan's Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil again called the United Nations attention to outright violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan, one of the main participants in the accords, and the United States, a guarantor of these agreements. In a message to the U.N. secretary-general, issued on Thursday as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council, 'Abdul Wakil noted that Pakistan and the United States, ignoring their obligations under the accords and resorting to the policy of state terrorism, increase the supplies of up-to-date weapons to armed Afghan extremists.

The supplies of the long-range missiles to these units enabled them to intensify missile attacks on cities and other populated localities of Afghanistan, causing casualties and material damage, the document says.

'Abdul Wakil expressed the opinion that the continuation of this situation undermines the United Nations' prestige and the effectiveness of international accords. In view of the United Nations' responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and the monitoring of the implementation of the Geneva accords, he expressed the hope that due measures will urgently be taken to put an end to the deliveries of such arms to extremists and their use against the Afghan people.

A message to the U.N. secretary-general from Afghanistan's Minister of Islamic Affairs Abdul Ghafar Bahir was circulated on the same day as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The minister noted that interference and bloodletting in Afghanistan did not stop, and that missile fire on cities assumed huge scope. Hundreds of men, women, children, are killed every day.

On behalf of all religious and spiritual leaders of Afghanistan he expressed the hope that by using his political influence the United Nations secretary-general can prevent the further deterioration of the situation and can convince the countries—signatories of the Geneva accords, and their guarantors stringently to observe the provisions of the accords. It is necessary to find and ensure a comprehensive political solution to put an end to the suffering of Afghanistan's people, the message says.

Rebel Faction Clashes in Afghanistan Noted

LD2508011189 Moscow TASS in English 0056 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Kabul August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov:

Missiles were again fired last night at the Afghan capital. Ten persons were killed and nine wounded, among them women and children. The rebels also opened up at government security posts in Nangarhar and Qandahar Provinces, in Khowst District. One serviceman was killed and nine wounded. Sixty insurgents were put out of action by the reply fire of Jalalabad artillery.

The Supreme Council of the 'Ulemas and Clergy of the Republic of Afghanistan called on all the Muslims of the world to help stop the war in Afghanistan without further delay. The document stresses that U.S. deliveries of new modified missiles to the extremists are patent proof of the policy of state terrorism conducted by the United States and Pakistan against the Republic of Afghanistan.

Clashes between rivalling formations of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" in Zabol, Laghman, Qandahar, and Vardak Provinces took a toll of up to forty rebels.

Near East Arms Race Viewed as 'Damaging'

PM2508090189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Mirskiy under the rubric "Stop the Spiral of Militarization": "The Near East is a Powder Keg"]

[Excerpts] "The most protracted conflict of our time." "A chronic, highly explosive confrontation." "The conflict which lends itself least of all to settlement." Anyone who follows world events will immediately recognize the subject of these epithets, widely used in the world press. They refer, of course, to the Near East, to the chronic Arab-Israeli conflict, offshoots of which are the present crisis situation in Lebanon and the outbreak of the uprising, or intifadah, in the occupied Palestinian territories.

However paradoxical it may seem, the danger lies in the fact that the world public has become used to these terrible things. It has begun to treat the Arab-Israeli conflict as something unpleasant but as a virtually inevitable phenomenon. Hence the tacit agreement not to stand in the way of the healing passage of time, in the hope that sooner or later everything will somehow "sort itself out."

But that is a dangerous attitude to take. There are no visible signs that the Arab-Israeli conflict is going to "go away." Hopes that the proclamation of a Palestinian state, linked to effective recognition of Israel by the PLO, would produce a positive reaction in Tel Aviv have not been justified. The Israeli leadership still rejects the idea of talks with the PLO and does not want to hear anything about the prospect of creating an Arab state on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip. This attitude naturally increases the disappointment felt by those Arabs, mainly Palestinians, who had thought that these peaceable gestures by the PLO and its rejection of its old aims would find understanding in Israel and inspire it to reciprocal steps in the direction of a compromise solution. With this development of events, the growth of extremist attitudes in the Arab camp is inevitable. At the same time, extreme right-wing circles in Israel are becoming more active; as far as they are concerned, even Shamir with his not very promising idea of elections in the occupied territories without participation by PLO representatives is beginning to look "suspicious."

In this situation, there is a growing danger that the option of a "military solution" to the conflict will be placed on the agenda again. This danger is increased by the buildup of weapons both in Israel and in Arab countries and by the increasing military potential of the conflicting sides. [passage omitted]

In the past 10 years alone, the total sum of U.S. aid to Israel has topped $30 billion, and a considerable proportion of this aid is military. Of the nine most important types of military hardware, Israel produces eight, including light weaponry (including mortars and antitank weapons), artillery (including missile launchers), light and heavy tanks, light aircraft and helicopters, tactical missiles, small ships, and, as a joint venture (with the United States), jet fighters. Since 1977, the export of Israeli weapons has vacillated between $96 million and $420 million in value.

The buildup of arms in the Near East is a two-way process. Foreign sources draw attention to the fact that a large quantity of Soviet weapons is streaming into Arab countries, particularly Iraq, Syria, and Libya.

But a source of particular concern, of course, are reports such as those published, for example, by the yearbook brought out by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in Sweden. "In addition to the fact that Israel has the technology and the materials for nuclear weapons," the yearbook writes, "it also has a ballistic missile capable of carrying a nuclear warhead.... It has successfully tested 'Jericho-2'—a more sophisticated version of the 'Jericho' missile with a range of up to 1,440 km." This means that the potential Israeli nuclear threat extends to all the adjacent Arab states.

There is really no need to discuss the danger of "nuclear games." After all, it would be naive to think that the Arab states will not want to take part.

In recent years the world public has also been alarmed by the proliferation of chemical weapons in the Near East. In particular, the Western press has reported that toxic substances were used on the Iran-Iraq front and in Kurdistan.

While noting the trend of the Near Eastern states' buildup and diversification of their military potentials, some specialists also believe that there is no fatal threat of new Arab-Israeli confrontation. I will cite their arguments. First of all, the biggest Arab state to suffer in the "6-day war" of 1967, Egypt, has already recovered the Sinai peninsula, taken from it by Israel at the time, and so has no incentive for a new test of strength. Second, although the occupationists still hold part of its national territory, the Golan Heights, there is no reasonable likelihood that Syria will enter into a one-to-one conflict with Israel and, to all appearances, the other Arab countries are not willing to take on the risk of war for its sake. Third, with regard to the fate of the Palestinians, although the Arab governments are bound by their common commitment to struggle for the liberation of the occupied territories, it is hard to say that they take this task close to heart. For example, during the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in 1982, when PLO fighters lay bleeding in beseiged Beirut, they received no substantial help from the Arab states. The same passivity has been apparent during the current development of the situation in Lebanon.

These are the kind of arguments that were discussed at sessions of the working group on Near East problems. The author of these lines also took part, invited to the London conference of British and American international research associations. Most of the members of the working group, while recognizing the justice of many of the arguments cited above, nevertheless felt that they were not forcible or sound enough. [passage omitted]

All were agreed that the Arab states do not want another war with Israel, but, at the same time, pointed out that the confrontation has its own logic and its own dynamics.

The conference pointed out that one cannot be sure that the present correlation of military forces in the Near East will last forever: It could, at some stage, be to Israel's disadvantage. The deadlock cannot last forever: Sooner or later someone will want to cut the knot by force, if peaceful measures are unable to shake the Israeli leaders from their intransigent position. And, ultimately, one cannot rule out the possibility that some Arab governments, themselves disinclined to return to the path of armed struggle, may be forced into taking the last resort under pressure from their own public.

In particular, Islamic fundamentalism is gathering momentum. Its positions are growing stronger as the futility of counting on the United States becomes apparent: The latter, in the opinion of the "moderates," ought to put serious pressure on Israel for the sake of its own interests. Attitudes in favor of a "holy war" may prove too strong for ruling circles in Arab countries to withstand them for long.

Of course, the participants in the meeting said, this is the "worst case scenario," but it cannot be ruled out. What would happen then? Of course, Israel cannot destroy the Arab world but the United States would not allow the defeat of Israel. The knot would be tied even tighter.

The militarization of the Near East also has other damaging aspects: It is using up resources which Israel and the Arab countries need to develop their economy and improve the standard of living of their population. It is helping to intensify a militarist mentality among ruling circles, create a "military state" complex, and increase the size and influence of the military. Nevertheless, the main danger in the buildup of military potential in the Near East states is that it increases the threat of military conflict and undermines the positive, beneficial trends which have finally begun to spread in the sphere of international relations. That is why the task of putting an end to the arms race in the Near East is so topical.

Primakov Receives Outgoing Libyan Ambassador

PM2408133389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Connection With Departure"]

[Text] On 23 August Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, received Daw 'Ali Suwaydan, secretary of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah People's Bureau People's Committee, in the Kremlin in connection with his final departure for home.

South Yemeni Envoy Meets Deputy Trade Minister

EA2408123389 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Brother Dr Ahmad Abdullah 'Abd-al-Ilah, Central Committee member and South Yemeni ambassador to the Soviet Union, met Deputy Minister of Soviet Foreign Economic Relations, Comrade Mordvinov, this morning. They discussed ways of strengthening bilateral economic cooperation, including the field of oil exploration.

Pakistani Minister Meets With Officials in Moscow

BK2408141389 Islamabad Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] The minister of state for information and broadcasting, Mr Javed Jabbar, now in Moscow, has held meetings with Soviet officials and heads of media organizations. Expansion of contacts in the field of information between Pakistan and USSR were discussed. Mr Javed Jabbar also had a meeting with the Soviet deputy minister

of cooperation with the Asian countries, Mr (V.P. Modolez) [name and title as heard], and discussed with him prospects of expansion of cooperation with Pakistan.

East Europe

Sejm Appoints Mazowiecki Poland's Prime Minister

PM2508090089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin report: "Decision of the Polish Sejm"]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Aug—The Polish Sejm has been in session for 2 days in Warsaw. The deputies of the two chambers examined a whole series of questions concerning amendments to the law on the budget, the possibility of abolishing the death penalty, and so forth. Nonetheless, every deputy will doubtless agree that the Sejm's attention was centered on the question of the new candidate for premier. Today, on the second day of the Sejm debates, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was appointed chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by 378 votes "for," with 4 "against" and 41 abstentions. He was instructed to form a government.

As has already been reported, he is 62 years old, a veteran of "Solidarity" and one of its leaders, and chief editor of the independent trade union's weekly. He gives the impression of being a calm, equable politician.

The Poles are hungry for changes that will make it possible to stabilize the situation in the country. Will the new premier and his chosen ministerial cabinet be able to do this? Who will be in the cabinet? What role will the Polish United Workers Party now play in the management of the state? These are the main questions for the Polish public now.

The prime minister is in no hurry to answer. He has asked for a week to choose candidate ministers. But it is already thought that his two deputies should be representatives of the partners in the new coalition—the United Peasants Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD]. The minister of agriculture should also be a ZSL leader.

Mazowiecki declared his intention of establishing a post of minister without portfolio, to tackle matters relating to the reform of local self-management, and also appointing a special official to liaise between the government and parliament. Assessing the future model for the mass media, the new head of government noted that he is a supporter of pluralism, and all political currents, without exception, should be guaranteed the right to a "voice." What changes will there be in the composition of management structures locally? First of all, the premier noted, we will take into account the competence and complete loyalty of leaders and officials.

In present conditions, in the premier's opinion, there can be no government other than a broad coalition government. Without having, as he put it, any "miraculous formula," it must all the same resolve at least some of the economic problems. "I am aware that my government could be short-lived, but it will probably 'plow up' some things," Mazowiecki said at a joint session of the parliamentary clubs of the ZSL and the SD. As for international commitments and the principles of Poland's foreign policy, they all, the prime minister said, remain in force. Poland is a member of the Warsaw Pact Organization, and the government will fully respect that fact. "However," he said, "we are living in a time when openness and the building of a common Europe are necessary."

In the corridors of the Sejm, the following idea was also voiced repeatedly: This is the first prime minister in Poland's postwar history to share the convictions of the greater part of the country's population and to seek to form a government based on all forces represented in parliament.

Will it be so? Time will tell.

Mazowiecki Addresses Sejm

LD2408205389 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 24 TASS—The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, on the proposal of the president, today appointed by a majority vote representative of Solidarity Tadeusz Mazowiecki chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers and instructed him to submit a proposal on the composition of the new Polish Government. Out of the 423 deputies present, 378 voted for his candidature, four voted against, and there were 41 abstentions. The deputies earlier accepted Czeslaw Kiszczak's resignation from the post, thanking him for the effort taken.

In his address to parliament, Mazowiecki stressed that he wants to form a government capable of acting for the good of society, the nation and the state, a coalition cabinet for the sake of radical reform of the state. Today such a task can be undertaken only by a government open for cooperation of all forces represented in parliament and based on new political principles, he said.

"The history of our country is accelerating. A society does not agree to continuing life as it has been until now", Mazowiecki said. The principle of struggle must be replaced by a principle of partnership, otherwise a transition to a democratic system is impossible.

The most important problem for the nation now is the state of the national economy which, it must be admitted, is critical now, he said. The problem is how to overcome this situation. Emphasising that this will require the efforts of all Poles, Mazowiecki declared in favour of creating market economy and changing the role of the state in the economic area.

Poland can fulfil an important role in the political, economic and cultural life of Europe, Mazowiecki went on. "Economic reconstruction will serve not only our

country but also the whole economic community", he said. "Europe is one, including the East as well as the West. Transformations in the Soviet Union arouse our lively sympathy. We understand their significance for the opening of new political processes in our country as well. We desire to maintain good-neighbourly, friendly relations with the Soviet Union. This is a great opportunity which cannot be wasted. We understand the significance of obligations resulting from Poland's participation in the Warsaw Treaty. To all its members, I state that the government I will form will respect this treaty", Mazowiecki said.

Mazowiecki's First Meetings Reported

LD2508063389 Moscow TASS in English 0623 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 25 TASS—Immediately following his appointment as the chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, Tadeusz Mazowiecki on Thursday paid a visit to Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The president expressed conviction that a new government will be up to society's expectations as an effective government being formed on the basis of broad coalition representation and national trust.

Mazowiecki assured the president that he will seek to form a new government as soon as possible amd emphasised his resolved to act in accordance with the principles and guidelines outlined in his speech in the Sejm.

On the same day Mazowiecki had a telephone conversation with Pope John Paul the second. During the conversation the pontiff asked him to convey greetings to President Jaruzelski. Then the Polish prime minister had a telephone talk with Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarnosc trade union.

In the business managing department of the Polish Council of Ministers, Mazowiecki had a meeting with the department's leading staff.

Explains Views at News Conference

LD2508104189 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw November 25 TASS—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the new chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, expounded at a press-conference here on plans for the future, on his positions and views on key questions of Poland's domestic and external policies.

He expresed the intention to base his relations with the president of Poland on principles of mutual respect of competence and authority. After the first contacts with Wojciech Jaruzelski, He said, I got the impression that this is exactly how our cooperation will proceed. Mazowiecki hinged his relations with the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party's Central Committee on the degree to which the Polish Communists assumed responsibility for the destinies of the country. I cannot imagine them not to shape up, he added.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland said that the government, which he intended to form by the end of August, would be a transitional one. At present the posts of defence and internal affairs ministers will be held by members of the party that had lost the elections. But in the future we should strive for principles accepted in democratic states when a party in power goes into the opposition and its government resigns. He stressed that only competence and loyalty to the state and government would be the main yardstick in forming the new cabinet at all levels. Special attention will be given to the appointment of leading personnel in bodies of territorial self-government. A minister without portfolio will be in charge of this.

Touching on the problem of strikes, Mazowiecki pointed to the need of ending them as quickly as possible not by calls or force, but by improving the trade-union legislation in keeping with the "round-table" agreements. At the same time, he urged all strikers and working collectives that were about to join them to give the government an opportunity to get down to normal work. He stressed in this context the role of an honest informational policy. The people must know the true state of affairs, Mazowiecki said.

Asked whether he felt morally committed to repay Poland's external debt, the head of the government said that debts should always be paid back, but in the given case this question should be reconsidered, because they were incurred due to unfair international relations. He noted that he would prefer to get bigger aid from the United States than promised by President Bush, and that he would strive to secure it.

Mazowiecki again stressed emphatically that the government he headed would respect Poland's allied commitments within the frameworks of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Mazowiecki explained his intention to go to Moscow and Washington shortly by the need that had arisen for such visits.

Touching on mutual relations with Western states, the Polish premier pointed to the importance of normalizing cooperation with the FRG. However, he said that the problem of Polish Germans was artificial, because it was not due to ethnic discrimination, but lower living standards in Poland than in the FRG.

IZVESTIYA Interviews Mazowiecki

PM2408160189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by own correspondent L. Toporkov in Warsaw on 23 August: "New Government—New Philosophy"—first two paragraphs are Toporkov introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—I met with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the new Polish head of government, on 23 August in his tiny

office on Czacki Street at the editorial offices of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC, where until recent days he was chief editor. He has not yet moved into the Council of Ministers House, and was still using this little room as his working office. A score of foreign correspondents were waiting in the packed corridor of the editorial offices for a meeting with the prime minister; some were television correspondents burdened with heavy equipment and lighting.

It was my first meeting with Mazowiecki, and it was the first time he had received a Soviet correspondent. For understandable reasons, this thin man with the face of an ascetic has not been courted by the Soviet press or the socialist countries' mass media. He had just returned from a session of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. On 24 August the Sejm is to carry out the formal, legal procedure of confirming Mazowiecki in the post of prime minister.

[Mazowiecki] At the club session they immediately asked me to compile a report on the crisis in the economy and the state. But surely it is clear that the new government should not take responsibility for the crisis and the past mistakes, but for the steps it is to take to lead the country out of the crisis. We must finally move on from talk to action, from debates to decision.

[Toporkov] What, in your view, should be the new cabinet's first steps? What, in general, is your platform, what is, so to speak, the philosophy of your government?

[Mazowiecki] Let me note the peculiar nature of this moment. The government is being formed in a highly critical situation. The crisis has dragged on, and threatens to continue. Many people are writing and talking about how profound and multifaceted it is, so I will not repeat myself. I will only say that there are no miraculous formulas that will enable us immediately to normalize the national economy. First of all we must at least slow down inflation, if we cannot eliminate it entirely, and we must free people's initiative. It is important for people to believe that things can get better in Poland. And therefore this is our philosophy: The state, the administration, should not be involved in the organization of production activity or manage that activity through various links, but should create the conditions—legal, political, and social—so that people develop an interest in producing what society needs, so that it is advantageous to them to do so. We must offer such opportunities to everyone, wherever he may work. In short, establish a new economic style. We will also embark without delay on a reform of the system of local self-management, to which end it is proposed to institute the post of minister without portfolio, to tackle this problem.

[Toporkov] How do you see the government in terms of its organization? Will it be a government of experts, as is sometimes said, or of politicians? What is meant by the formula "government of national responsibility" or "broad coalition," which we hear so often, and what is your attitude toward the participation of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in the government?

[Mazowiecki] I think it will be a government based on broad representation of various political forces. We have a parliament of precisely that kind, in which these forces are concentrated according to the will of the voters. In this instance the initiative for forming a government was taken on by a coalition of "Solidarity" and the United Peasant and Democratic Parties. It is open to everyone—including the PRPR, which should participate in it.

[Toporkov note] (Let me note that a little earlier, speaking at the Citizens' Parliamentary Club session, Tadeusz Mazowiecki also said that a government cannot be created in Poland today without the participation of all forces. Any other decision would be a trap. One such trap would be a confrontation between the PZPR and the opposition, or the repudiation of that party, because no opposition in the world has the army and the security services at its disposal.)

[Mazowiecki] For the time being we are not talking about specific individuals and portfolios, but about the character of the cabinet in general. It will not be the classical cabinet that we are used to seeing; it will, I repeat, consist of representatives of different forces. There will, of course, be politicians, but there will also be experts, people who are profoundly competent in a particular sphere. You cannot do without them. I am well aware that our cabinet may not exist for long, but I see it as having a major role, since its very formation will mean the renunciation of past customs, of the principle that only one camp can form a government. This fact alone is of enormous significance.

[Toporkov] In your view how realistic is the policy of national consensus and evolutionary transformation of society, so to speak, in accordance with the blueprint of the roundtable accords?

[Mazowiecki] Since I am one of the coauthors of the documents adopted by the roundtable, they seem to me to have a future and are perfectly feasible, although one must go further on some questions. Take the most difficult problem—the economy. It needs thorough reforms and some hard work will have to be done, because the state of the economy poses the threat of a social explosion. We will counteract these explosive tendencies with all our energy. Initially we have to work with the state structures we have inherited, and then gradually reform them. We will operate in an evolutionary way, in stages. The state and economic apparatuses have taken years, decades, to create and I think the present one will serve us well. Of course, it is not all down to the government. It must be borne in mind that there could be spontaneous processes in society and someone may decide to go beyond evolutionary changes, in which case authoritative influence would be required. National consensus presupposes having to act together.

[Toporkov] Does this mean that one should not expect you to scrap what has existed before?

[Mazowiecki] I have already talked about evolution. Scrapping is not building, as they say. I just want the economic sphere to be free from ideological elements. It must be pragmatic and serve the people and their needs, and not a particular stratum or group of individuals. This is being done all over the world. There are changes of this kind in your country, too, in the Soviet Union. But in public life, let pluralism and diversity prevail and let there be no depressing standardization anywhere. This applies to the media as well. I am in favor of this. Of course, the government does not introduce such phenomena as pluralism, but it can create conditions for it and encourage it.

[Toporkov] How do you define yourself? As, for example, a socialist, a social democrat?

[Mazowiecki] Basically, I am a Christian. A Catholic, guided by the church's social teaching, and this derives from the teaching of Pope John Paul II; it is accessible to all people and does not teach them anything bad. It is an intrinsically humanitarian teaching and I believe it will be an inspiration to me.

[Toporkov] I would also like to hear, in general terms, about your cabinet's Eastern policy. Will there be any new approaches?

[Mazowiecki] No. We are aware of the geopolitical situation in which Poland finds itself. We remain loyal to our allied commitments, arising out of our membership in the Warsaw Pact. But I must say here and now that we would like to to see our relations dominated by relations between people and between states, and only then by relations between institutions, enterprises, parties, and so forth. As I see it, they must be built on a broader social basis.

[Toporkov] What would you like to say to IZVESTIYA readers?

[Mazowiecki] I am glad to have the opportunity to greet them and say that we are keeping a close eye on the changes in the Soviet Union, on Soviet perestroyka. These changes also help our reforms and create a common climate of creativity. We must know one another better and meet more often. We wish the Soviet people success and hope you wish us the same.

[Toporkov] Thank you for the conversation, Mr Prime Minister.

On 24 August the Sejm approved the appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki as chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. That same evening he was expected to give his first official press conference, in the government building on Ujazdowskie Avenue.

Commitment to Broad Based Coalition Reported

PM2408111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Composition of Government Is Discussed"]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Aug—The complex process continues in Poland of forming a broad-based coalition government in which, it is planned, the country's basic political forces will be represented.

T. Mazowiecki, the nominee for the post of chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers who represents Solidarity, was received on Tuesday by Marshal of the Sejm, M. Kozakiewicz, and Marshal of the Senate A. Stelmachowski. As the marshal of the Sejm stressed, the Sejm's appointment of the chairman of the Council of Ministers is to take place on 24 August. According to Mazowiecki, he would like to present his new government to the Sejm and the people on 31 August.

The political situation in the country and questions connected with forming the new government have been discussed at meetings between T. Mazowiecki and M. Orzechowski, chairman of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club; J. Janowski, chairman of the Democratic Party Deputies Club; and J. Kuron, deputy chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club (deputies and senators elected on the Solidarity slate).

The first meeting has been held between Senator J. Kaczynski—Mazowiecki's official representative—and L. Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who is authorized to hold talks with him. It was devoted to preliminary discussion of the future government's composition.

In an interview given to France's LE MONDE, Mazowiecki noted a proposal on the PZPR's participation that he did not wish to consign the party to a negative or opposition stance. He stressed that he does not intend to rock the country or to jeopardize it but would like political life to become normal. The government should have the opportunity to work in tranquillity, he added. Our country is a member of the Warsaw Pact, and this government must be fully responsible. In his opinion, the reaction from the USSR shows good understanding of the changes taking place in Poland.

As J. Bisztyga, PZPR Central Committee press spokesman, reported on the results of the PZPR Central Committee session, the idea of a broad coalition being outlined at the talks is in line with the PZPR's repeated proposal to create an effective government, which only a "grand coalition" government can be. For the party it is a matter of national interests above all else. Therefore it is bending all its efforts toward ensuring that a new government with fitting PZPR representation that reflects its place in the country's life and state successfully counteracts the growing economic and social tension.

The Politburo continues to think that no problem in Poland can be solved in isolation, the PZPR Central Committee press spokesman went on. It expresses the hope that a broad-coalition government will create opportunities for a rapprochement of different forces for the sake of national interests and will favor the rapprochement of both PZPR and Solidarity members in dealing with the very complex problems with which Poland is contending and will have to contend.

Mazowiecki Describes Commitment to Warsaw Pact

LD2408174989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Excerpts] You probably know, comrades, that today deputies of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, by an overwhelming majority, voted in Tadeusz Mazowiecki as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the country. A crucial event has taken place in the country, said the chairman of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] deputies' club, speaking in the Sejm. For the first time in the past 4 decades the government will be formed by a person not belonging to our party. Now over to our correspondent in Warsaw Vladimir Mikhaylenko:

[Mikhaylenko] The prime minister of the government of the broad coalition will be a Catholic publicist and opposition politician. This was reported yesterday by one of the most popular Polish weeklies. Today this prediction has come true. [passage omitted]

Before the start of the voting, Tadeusz Mazowiecki set forth the program of the economic, political, and international activity of his future government:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording in Polish fading into Russian translation] It will be a coalition government whose aim is the radical reform of the country. Now this task can be tackled only by a government open to cooperation from all forces represented in parliament, formed on new political principles. The rebirth of our economy will serve not only the interests of our country but also its interaction in Europe, not only in the West but also in the East.

The changes in the Soviet Union awaken sincere sympathy in us. We well understand their significance for the political recovery in our country. We wish to preserve goodneighbourly and friendly relations with the Soviet Union so that relations between our peoples may rest on friendship and cooperation of the whole public and not be the privelege of one party. This great chance must not be missed. We will remember our commitments under the Warsaw Pact. And we declare to those in it that the government which is to be formed will observe that treaty. [end recording]

Council of Ministers Congratulates Mazowiecki

PM2508091589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Council of Ministers message to Mazowiecki]

[Text] To Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers,

Accept our friendly congratulations on your appointment as chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

We express the confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and all-around cooperation between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic, which have been marked by great dynamism in recent years, will continue to develop on the basis of sovereign equality and respect, mutual advantage, and mutual responsibility in the interests of our peoples and of peace and stability in Europe and throughout the world.

Accept our sincere wishes for success in your activity in this responsible post.
The USSR Council of Ministers.

Outgoing Polish Envoy Meets With Soviet Officials

Recieved by Bessmertnykh

LD2508041789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Comrade Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received on 24 August Wlodimierz Natorf, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the Soviet Union, in connection with the latter's final departure for the homeland. During the conversation, which passed off in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, conviction was expressed by both sides that all-round cooperation between the USSR and Poland and cooperation in the international arena will continue to develop dynamically in the interests of the two countries and peoples, of strengthening peace and security in Europe.

Meets with Slyunkov

PM2308150989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ambassador Received"]

[Text] On 22 August N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, who is concluding his diplomatic mission in Moscow in connection with his election as a secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee.

In the course of a friendly exchange of opinions note was taken of the significance of mutual understanding and good-neighborly cooperation between the Soviet Union

and Poland for the fundamental interests of both countries' peoples and for ensuring Europe's peaceful future. N.N. Slyunkov wished W. Natorf success in his responsible new post.

V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, participated in the talks.

Romania Marks 45 Years of Socialist System

PM2508090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed article "prepared by the SCINTEIA editorial board," published under the rubric "Socialist Romania Is 45 Years Old": "Tangible Results"]

[Text] For 45 years now, at the height of the summer, the Romanian people have been marking a glorious anniversary in their history. August 23, 1944 marks the beginning of the uprising, the beginning of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution and social and national liberation. Responding to a communist party call, the Romanian people toppled the fascist military dictatorship and joined the anti-Hitler coalition. They fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army and made great sacrifices for the sake of the complete liberation of their native land and ultimate victory over fascism. During that hot August, translating age-old aspirations into reality, the Romanian people took up arms and won the right to freedom and independence, the right to control their national wealth, to eliminate exploitation once and for all, and firmly to establish the socialist system in their country.

The unfading memory of the beginning of a new road in Romania's 2,000-year history is embodied today in a country which has been transformed down to its very foundations. During these 4 and ½ decades, and especially since the ninth party congress, the people's unfettered creative forces have raised the country to unprecedented heights. Industrial production in Romania today exceeds the 1945 level 135-fold—the former annual output now takes less than 3 days to produce. Agricultural production has increased 10-fold. National income has risen 40-fold. And it is not just a question of a quantitative increase—althought that in itself is indicative of the significance of what has been achieved. It is equally a question of a resolute focus on the qualitative stipulations of the scientific and technical revolution as regards the structure of sectors and the processes under way in the national economy as a whole.

A remarkable achievement of recent years is the complete repayment at the end of March 1989 of Romania's foreign debt. After all, it exceeded $11 billion in 1980. In this way genuine independence, both economic and political, is now assured. It is worth mentioning that, while repaying its foreign debt, the country continued its economic and social development. Thus capital investments during 1980-1989 totaled 2 billion lei.

These results, achieved under the leadership of the party on the basis of the development of socialist ownership, have secured a rise in the people's living standards and progress in all spheres which affect the quality of life. Among the spheres in which the pace of change is particularly striking, housing construction occupies a leading place. In a situation where this sphere is characterized by acute shortages in many countries, including the most highly developed countries, Romania has achieved a situation whereby 82 percent of the country's population lives in new houses and apartments. In cities the housing problem has been virtually solved. In view of the current pace of urban development, it is possible to claim that its complete solution is imminent.

These are just a few basic examples which characterize the current stage of transformations. Inseparable from the examples cited, too, is the development of science, which is making its contribution to society's progress. As for the educational system, it is closely geared to all stages of research and production. In the next 5-year plan high school education will become general. The existing network of health care establishments is capable of effectively keeping an eye on the health of every citizen.

Naturally, this generalized information would be incomplete without mention of the principled foreign policy geared to strengthening peace, mutual understanding, and cooperation with all countries, and especially socialist countries which account for the main share of Romania's exchanges and multifaceted cooperation.

The further development of relations based on friendly cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union is evoking mutual satisfaction. Based on the agreements and accords achieved during meetings between Comrades N. Ceasescu and M. Gorbachev, and the joint documents which they have signed, Romanian-Soviet cooperation is developing along an ascending line in the political, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural spheres. Of special importance is economic, scientific, and technical cooperation intended, on the basis of mutual advantage, to ensure the satisfaction of both countries' needs in energy, raw materials, fuel, and modern machinery and equipment. Production intensification and production sharing and specialization and new, effective forms of collaboration are assuming increasing importance. At the same time ties are being developed at various levels of the party and state and between parliaments and mass and public organizations.

Romania and the Soviet Union are also developing cooperation in the international arena and working together with other socialist countries and all progressive, democratic, and realistically minded forces toward the solution of the major problems of the present time.

Dwelling on the prospects for the development of our mutual relations, Comrade N. Ceausescu has emphasized: "Broad opportunities exist for ensuring, through joint efforts, an even stronger development of cooperation and collaboration between our parties and countries

in the interests of advancing the building of socialism in Romania and the Soviet Union and the common cause of socialism and peace."

The Romanian people are marking their glorious anniversary with a growing sense of boundless faith in the power of their unity with the party and its general secretary. The basis of this unity of thoughts, feelings, and actions is the pride in what has been achieved and confidence that what lies ahead are great but feasible tasks. The way toward new gains on the ladder of civilization and progress leading to the 3d millenium is outlined in the draft "Program Directive" and the theses of the 14th Romanian Communist Party Congress, to be convened next November. These documents, which are currently being discussed by the entire people, open up bright, new prospects along the path embarked on 45 years ago.

Romanian Envoy Speaks on Vremya on National Day

LD2308184489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Statement by Ion Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, on the occasion of the 45th Romanian national day; place and date not specified; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded in Romanian with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] Dear friends, the victory of the antfascist and anti-imperialist revolution and of social and national liberation of 23 August 1944, which was organized and guided by the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], represented the crowning of the long struggle of the Romanian people and opened up a path towards the socialist development of Romania. It was carried out under favorable conditions created by the brilliant victories of the Soviet Army on the anti-Hitlerite front and by the victories of all antifascist forces.

In the 45 years since the revolution, especially after the 9th RCP Congress, Romania has reached a high level of socio economic development. Industrial production has grown by 135 times, agricultural production has grown by 10 times, and national income has grown by 40 times. As a result of the major successes achieved, the repayment of foreign debt became possible. Special attention was paid to developing the workers' revolutionary democracy system, to the active participation of all people in the elaboration and implementation of the policy of our party and state.

The 14th RCP Congress, which will determine the tasks and the general policy of the socialist construction of Romania for the subsequent period and for the long-term future will take place this November. The primary objective of the next 5-year plan is to intensively develop the economy and achieve a new quality of labor in all spheres.

By implementing extensive programs of peaceful construction, Romania is actively participating in international life, it is contributing to the solving of the most important questions of the present time and is coming out in favor of decisive measures in the sphere of disarmament, in the first place of nuclear disarmament.

Dear friends, the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the 1944 August revolution is a good reason for noting the traditional Romanian-Soviet relations of friendship and cooperation. The heroic struggle of both the Romanian and Soviet soldiers against fascism has cemented the friendship of our peoples. In the years of socialist construction the Romanian-Soviet relations have gotten to know [poznali] advancing development. Cooperation encompassed all spheres. The relations of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the CPSU had a decisive role in this connection. The agreements reached at highest level, the meetings and discussions which were held in recent years between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, have imparted fresh impetuses to the mutually advantageous cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples in all spheres.

I wish you, dear friends, new and important successes in implementing the programs of socioeconomic development of the friendly and neighboring Soviet Union, which were outlined by the CPSU, in perfecting work in all spheres, in the struggle for peace, security, and in international cooperation.

Thank you for your attention.

Leadership Greetings to Romania Noted

PM2308145789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings from Soviet leadership to N. Ceausescu and C. Dascalescu on the occassion of the Romanian national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nikolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government.

Esteemed Comrades!

We sincerely greet you, the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council, the Romanian Government, and the friendly Romanian people on the national holiday—the day of liberation from the fascist yoke and the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation.

The events of August 1944 led to a radical turnabout in Romania's history and in Soviet-Romanian relations. Over 4 and ½ decades the fruitful and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and Romania has served the interests of our peoples and their efforts to build a new society. Relying on our achievements and acting in the spirit of the principles of equal rights, noninterference in internal affairs, and consideration of

mutual interests and each party's responsibility to its people, we can make the whole complex of relations between our countries and their economic links even more effective, expand the exchange of spiritual values and contact between people, and strengthen their friendship and mutual understanding.

An important sphere of interaction between the USSR and Romania in the international arena is the strengthening of peace and security, disarmament, and the strengthening of trust between the peoples. We are convinced that Soviet-Romanian cooperation in this sphere will promote the implementation of ideas of the new political thinking, which are reflected by the joint position of the allied socialist countries expounded in the documents of the recent Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference in Bucharest.

On this noteworthy day we wish you, the Communists, and all Romanian working people success in the country's socioeconomic development, progressive movement forward on the path of socialist building, and a fitting welcome to the 14th Romanian Communist Party Congress.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet

The USSR Council of Ministers

Yazov Greets Romania's Milea on Liberation Day

PM2308144789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Defense Minister D. Yazov greetings message: "To Colonel General Vasile Milea, Romanian Minister of National Defense"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own account I congratulate you and all Romanian Army servicemen on the national holiday—the day of liberation from the fascist yoke, and the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution and social and national liberation.

Soviet servicemen ardently welcome the successes achieved by the Romanian people during the years of socialist building, and express confidence that the relations of friendship and all-around cooperation between the USSR Armed Forces and the Romanian Army will continue to develop successfully for our peoples' benefit.

On this portentous day I wish you and all Romanian servicemen new successes in improving your combat skills in the interests of strengthening the defense capability of your motherland and all the Warsaw Pact states.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Romanian Group Studies CPSU Agrarian Policy

PM2008142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] V. Barbulescu, secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, paid a working visit to the USSR 15-18 August. The delegation he headed studied the problems of implementing the CPSU's agrarian policy in present-day conditions and the opportunities for the development of Soviet-Romanian cooperation.

The delegation was received by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. During a conversation which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere V. Barbulescu conveyed greetings and best wishes from N. Ceausescu to M.S. Gorbachev. In reply, the Soviet side conveyed greetings from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The participants in the meeting exchanged information on the present state and development prospects of agriculture in both countries, and examined questions of Soviet-Romanian collaboration in the agro-industrial sphere. I. Bucur, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

The Romanian comrades had meetings and conversations at party organs in Krasnodar Kray and Moscow Oblast, and visited agricultural and processing enterprises and scientific research institutions.

Ceausescu Proposal To Change Party Bodies Noted

PM2308102189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Congress Preparations"]

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Aug—A Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee Political Executive Committee session has been held here with RCP Secretary General N. Ceausescu in the chair.

The session considered matters connected with preparations for the 14th RCP Congress. N. Ceausescu proposed changing the number and composition of members of leading party organs to be elected by the congress. It was proposed that the number of Central Committee members be increased by 10, raising the total membership to 465. It was also decided to increase the number of representatives of the working class actually employed in production by 45 and the number of representatives of the peasantry by 20.

Chebrikov, Others Salute Romanian National Day

LD2208213589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1827 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—A celebratory meeting of representatives of the workers of the Soviet capital dedicated to the national festival marked on 23

August by the Socialist Republic of Romania—the day of the country's liberation from the facist yoke, the 45th anniversary of the antifacist, anti-imperialist revolution and social and national liberation—which took place in Moscow today passed off in a festive atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Viktor Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Lev Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, representatives of party, local soviet and public organizations as well as a delegation from the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Society took part in the meeting.

Ligachev Receives Hungary's Burgert

PM2408133589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 23 August Ye.K. Ligachev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received R. Burgert, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Political Executive Committee, who is in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. During a comradely conversation there was an exchange of information on domestic political life in the USSR and Hungary and the activity of the CPSU and MSZMP. There was an examination of certain questions of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation and of deepening collaboration in the spheres of the agro-industrial complex.

V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, and USSR Ambassador to Hungary B.I. Stukalin participated in the conversation.

Nikitin Discusses Agriculture With Burgert

PM2408102989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Results of Cooperation"]

[Text] On 22 August V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received R. Burgert, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Political Executive Committee and general director of "Babolna," Hungary's largest agricultural combine.

The results of cooperation in a number of agricultural sectors were examined during the meeting and the main areas for the further expansion of mutually advantageous economic ties in the immediate period were defined.

CSSR Protests Foreign Involvement in Protests

PM2408131589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CSSR Foreign Ministry Protest"]

[Text] Prague, 23 Aug—The diplomatic representatives of Italy and the Netherlands were invited to the CSSR Foreign Ministry today, the CTK agency reports. They were presented with a protest in connection with the participation of citizens from their countries in the unauthorized demonstrations in the center of Prague on 21 August. It was stressed that the citizens of Italy and the Netherlands had used their stay in the CSSR as tourists for actions incompatible with the development of contacts between peoples, as laid down in the final document of the Vienna meeting. Their direct involvement in an unauthorized action does not contribute to mutual understanding and the improvement of the climate in relations between CSCE states. It was also pointed out that the Czechoslovak law-enforcement and security organs acted entirely in accordance with Czechoslovak laws in maintaining public order. In connection with the detention of certain foreign citizens, it was stated that by their action they had broken laws whose observance would be demanded by any sovereign state. It was stressed that the situation is being tackled in accordance with Czechoslovak legislation and existing international agreements.

Diplomatic representatives of Hungary and Poland were invited to the CSSR Foreign Ministry for the same reason. Citizens of these two countries had also been involved in the unauthorized demonstration on 21 August, the CTK report says.

Warships Visit Bulgaria' Varna Port 12 Aug

PM2108140189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "On Friendly Visit"]

[Text] Sofia, 12 Aug—An official visit to Varna by a detachment of ships from the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet under the command of Vice Admiral V.Ye. Selivanov, fleet chief of staff, has just begun and is devoted to the upcoming Freedom Day—the 45th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria—and Bulgarian Navy Day. Vice Admiral V.Ye. Selivanov visited party and state leaders of the Varna municipality and Admiral Vasil Yanakiev, commander of the Bulgarian Navy.

Together with Bulgarian sailors and officers and Varna's inhabitants, the Soviet sailors took part in a ceremonial meeting devoted to Bulgarian Navy Day.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of national defense, took part in the meeting.

West Europe

Gorbachev Sends Message to Pope John Paul II

LD2408165989 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Rome August 24 TASS—In a reply message to Pope John Paul II, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has considered drastic issues of the present times: elimination of the threat of nuclear war, consolidation of peace and justice on earth, and protection of basic values of civilisation.

Gorbachev analysed practical ways towards shaping extensive international cooperation to find solutions to these problems.

The message expressed readiness for the further development of Soviet-Vatican contacts. The message was handed over to the Pope by Yuriy Karlov, a personal representative of the Soviet foreign minister, who arrived in the Vatican.

During a conversation with the pontiff, the sides exchanged views on the situation in Lebanon in the light of the need for invigorating peace efforts to settle the crisis as soon as possible while preserving that country's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

Gorbachev Sends Condolences to UK's Thatcher

LD2308140689 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 23 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, in a message to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, has conveyed profound condolences over numerous Thames shipwreck casualties.

Gorbachev extended sincere sympathy to the near and dear ones of the victims.

Spokesman Denies Prior Knowledge of Palme Murder

LD2508094289 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—An official spokesman for Soviet competent military circles has categorically denied a Swedish state television report alleging that the Soviet intelligence service had known about an impending assassination attempt against Olof Palme.

In an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent the Soviet spokesman stated today that "this invention is totally baseless and has given rise to indignation in Soviet military circles".

"Olof Palme was the man who was regarded with respect and admiration in the Soviet Union for his peacemaking activites," the Soviet spokesman said.

"And the very idea that, while knowing that an assassination attempt was being prepared, we did not take measures to avert it is absured and insulting".

The Soviet military spokesman expressed a supposition that the falsehood was needed by those Swedish right-wing forces that bear responsibility for the assassination, and that the falsehood was apparently designed to divert attention from the true culprits of the February 28, 1986, tragedy.

Finnish Newspaper Views Estonian Electoral Law

PM2408143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Finnish Newspaper's Opinion: 'Path to Conflict'"]

[Text] Helsinki, 21 Aug—The Finnish newspaper HELSINGIN SANOMAT has published an editorial entitled "Path to Conflict" which comments on the new law on local soviet elections in the republic adopted by Estonia and the law on amendments and additions to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution. The newspaper notes that according to a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, they have been declared incompatible with the USSR Constitution and in breach of human rights enshrined in international legal documents ratified in the USSR. The article says in particular:

Of course, the Estonians may hope that some concession may be made toward them during the preparation of the major changes of constitutional law in the USSR and that the republics will also be empowered to resolve questions relating to the exercise of general civic rights. However, that hope seems forlorn. This is clear from the CPSU draft platform "The Party's Nationalities Policy in Present-Day Conditions," which says that a citizen of a union republic is at the same time a citizen of the USSR and points out that it is impermissible to infringe Soviet citizens' rights on national, religious, or linguistic grounds or on the basis of length of residence.

As there is no time limit set on the entry into force of the local soviet election law, many tens of thousands of Estonian residents are thus deprived of the right to vote, at least temporarily. This has happened because the law was adopted without being properly thought through. The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On Measures To Ensure Legality and Law and Order in the Republic," which outlawed protest strikes by the republic's Russian-speaking population, was equally hasty.

The Estonians have been successful in expanding their economic and political sphere of activity to an even greater extent than could have been expected. Unfortunately, this has not increased the confidence that all their difficulties are behind them now. The Estonians should not forget that their achievements can become stable only in conditions of the successful implementation of the process of perestroyka across the whole country's territory, and that to form nationalities policy on the basis of other aims is a policy of adventurism.

Political & Social

Ligachev Fears on Post-Chernenko Succession Cited

PM2408132789

[Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on August carries on page 4 under the headline "Last Frosts...Facets of a Political Portrait: 13 Months in the Life of K.U. Chernenko" a 2,000-word article by correspondent K. Bayalinov, former scientific associate of the Party History Institute under the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee. The article deals with the political career of K.U. Chernenko, who was general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium during 1984-1985, noting certain parallels with the career of L.I. Brezhnev. The bulk of the article is devoted to an assessment of Chernenko's 13 months in power, pointing out that "the country was again plunged into an atmosphere of stagnation" and "the planned economy was in its death throes."

Going on to deal with Chernenko's final days, the article concludes as follows:

"Strength had forsaken the ailing Chernenko. He did not attend the funeral of his friend and comrade in arms—D.F. Ustinov. The pain of the loss and sad thoughts prompted Chernenko to pay tribute to the deceased and to hastily rename Izhevsk Ustinov.

"Without Chernenko's presence in the Kremlin auditorium the voters of Moscow's Kuybyshevskiy (outlying—note by K.B.) Rayon met...with K.U. Chernenko, candidate deputy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. The 'meeting' was opened by V.V. Grishin. 'His' speech was read out there. As PRAVDA reported the next day, 'those attending the meeting greeted K.U. Chernenko's speech with great satisfaction and ardent prolonged applause.' The entire country was swamped by tidal waves of 'working people's responses.'

"The general secretary's final appearance before a television audience was 28 February 1985. A group from the top echelon of power presented him with a certificate on his election as a deputy. With Grishin supporting his arm, he quietly and quickly mumbled something, panting from an asthma attack....

"Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, died in his 74th year at 1920 hours on 10 March 1985....

"Ye.K. Ligachev's speech at the 19th party conference lifts slightly the veil from the secret of the 'final chord' of his epoch: 'The whole truth must be told: They were anxious days. There could have been totally different decisions. There was such a real danger....'"

Baku Operating 'Normally' After Strikes

LD2508110589 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Baku August 25 TASS—The Azerbaijani capital of Baku had a usual busy working day today, with all enterprises and public transport working normally after the city was hit by strikes sparked off by the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute last week.

A number of Baku enterprises involved in those stoppages plan to continue working this week-end to make up for production shortfalls, a spokesman for the city party committee told TASS.

Situation in NKAO Remains Tense

NC2508113189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] remains the same. Work in Stepanakert has not returned to normal. Apparently, the views of those who favor continuation of the strikes are being positively received by the majority of workers in the industrial sector. Their main argument is that the last 3 and ½ months have not yet achieved concrete results for the population. Nevertheless, explanatory work is going on with full participation of the members of the National Council, party, soviet, trade-union, and komsomol activists. Consumer services, foodstuff shops, city transport service, and construction organizations are partially operating. The collectives of the trade sector, cultural and educational eastablishments, and those enterprises which are not involved in catering to the population of Stepanakert are fully operational.

As Major Yuriy Makarov, the representative of the press center at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, told an ARMENPRES correspondent, the operative situation remains tense. A number of settlement areas in the NKAO are being blockaded; the stoning of transportation on the roads leading to them is continuing. There are incidents of arms and amunition confiscation by certain people of both nationalities. Operations in this direction are being carried out by the functionaries at the NKAO Internal Affairs Department and Interior Ministry troops. Because of the exacerbation of the situation, a decision has been made to have army personnel protect the car convoys. They have been instructed to take the most resolute measures in order to prevent attacks on convoys. Those measures are justified because, as a result of such lawless actions, innocent people suffer and substantial material damage is caused to the state and the private property of the citizens.

PRAVDA Reports 23 Aug Baltic 'Mass Action'

PM2408095789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Reports from Riga by correspondent O. Mershkov and from Tallinn by correspondent I. Teterin under the general heading: "Mass Action in the Baltic Area"]

[Text] Hundreds of thousands of people from the three Baltic republics held a mass action on 23 August, the

50th anniversary of the signing of the nonaggression pact between the USSR and Germany.

Riga, 23 Aug—The Latvian People's Front Duma Board appeal says that the purpose of the action is to confirm the desire of the inhabitants of the Baltic area to "be independent again and to acquire their states once more—a free Estonia, a free Latvia, and a free Lithuania." Approximately 250,000 people formed a "human chain" on the territory of Latvia. The chain began to take shape at 1830 hours. Many participants arrived with transistor radios: A specially prepared broadcast was relayed during the action. Between 1900 and 1915 hours, in response to a radio signal, the action participants formed the chain, leaving only crossroads and railroad crossings free. Bells rang in all Latvian churches, flags were draped in black, and people wore crape bands. At 2100 hours there were joint rallies on Latvia's borders with Lithuania and Estonia, organized by local branches of people's fronts and "Sajudis."

Tallinn, 23 Aug—The action scenario had been prepared in advance. The Baltic council of the Estonian and Latvian people's fronts and Lithuania's "Sajudis" planned a human chain stretching 600 km from Big Hermann Tower in Tallinn to Gediminas Tower in Vilnius.

Many of the newspapers published in Estonia on that day kept their readers informed. For instance, Candidate of Legal Sciences Kh. Lindpere, writing in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, said: "The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact is substantial evidence that the USSR annexed Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1940."

Well, such are the realities of today: The mood of "division" ["otdelencheskiy"] and calls for state independence are becoming an active factor of political life in the Baltic republics. The question is: Is there an alternative? Yes, there is. There are the party programs for restructuring our federation and the establishment of genuine territory economic accountability, which can only be achieved by working together conscientiously. So which sentiments will prevail?

"The time has come to throw off the onerous yoke of distrust, which is hampering us and making it difficult and perhaps impossible to move forward," Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman A. Ryuytel said at the opening of the rally in Tallinn. "And that is impossible without an honest and full discovery of the historical truth, which is something that not only we, the Baltic peoples, are waiting for. It is equally important for all the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the whole world."

1939 Pact Unconnected With Decision on Baltics

LD2408173589 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Hundreds of thousands of people in the three Baltic republics have staged a demonstration to protest the signing of a nonaggression pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany 50 years ago. They formed a 600-km live chain that extended from Big Hermann Tower in Tallinn to Gediminas Tower in Vilnius. More in this report from our correspondents:

The past week has seen many mass-scale actions in the Baltic where people continue voicing their protest against the 1939 Soviet-German treaty, better known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, signed by the then foreign ministers of the two countries.

The pact and the secret protocol attached to it under which the two countries divided the spheres of their influence have become subject to very contradictory assessments. Many prominent historians in this country and a number of their colleagues abroad maintain that in the international situation that had taken shape by the summer of 1939, the Soviet Union had virtually no alternative to signing a pact with Germany. Historian (Hans Koenrich) of the German Democratic Republic says, omitting the minor considerations, one may draw the chief conclusion that the USSR and Germany were after different goals at the time. While the Soviet Union was seeking peace, Germany was preparing for war.

As far as the secret protocol is concerned, it has been censured in this country as the graphic instance of deviation from Leninist principles of foreign political activity. All attempts to view the decision of the Baltic republics to join the Soviet Union in 1940 as connected with the Soviet-German pact are inconsistent. That decision was taken by the supreme governing bodies in each of the republics and in Moscow.

On Wednesday [24 August], many Baltic demonstrators voiced local people's desire to regain sovereginty and live in a free Estonia, free Latvia, and free Lithuania. [name indistinct] of Estonia, suggested the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact is a weighty proof of the fact that the Soviet Union annexed Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1940. At the same time, many orators from the number of participants in the live chain, which came to be described as a Baltic way, spoke in favor of ethnic sovereignty for the three Baltic republics, which would remain part of the Soviet federation.

As he was opening a rally in Tallinn, the Estonian president, Arnold Ryuytel said a time had come for getting rid of the heavy burden of mistrust that impeded, if not blocked, further progress, but work in that direction would be impossible unless the full historical truth were made available not only to the Baltic people, but also to the entire Soviet nation and people the world over. [passage omitted]

People's Deputy Comments on Hitler-Stalin Pact

AU2308124289 Bonn DIE WELT in German 22 Aug 89 p 5

[Article by Leningrad People's Deputy Professor Sergey Lavrov, vice president of the USSR Geographical Society: "Moscow Cites the General Recognition of Borders"]

[Text] On 23 August 1939, the USSR and Germany concluded the Nonaggression Pact, and a bit more than

a month later, the friendship and border treaty. Secret protocols were attached to each of them. Today demands are being made to declare the Nonaggression Pact null and void from the start. I think that this is against common sense.

First, the treaty was in effect for almost 2 years and helped postpone the attack on our country. The past can be condemned, but it cannot be revised, let alone be undone. Today it is easy to moralize about the inadmissibility of an agreement with the aggressor; some people even talk about a "conspiracy of the two aggressors," or about a "double responsibility," etcetera.

Immorality Recognized

However, we must remember the situation at that time: Soviet reconnaissance experts reported that an invasion of Poland and the Ukraine was imminent, and the British-French delegation held unsuccessful protracted negotiations in Moscow. Thus there was a real danger that the USSR would be totally isolated. The Nonaggression Pact was a necessity; there was practically no alternative.

Second, it would be useless to declare the treaty null and void from the start, because it became automatically ineffective when the aggression of Hitlerite fascism was unleashed against the USSR. (This is also provided for by the generally valid norms of international law.)

This assessment is anything but original. It should be remembered that the FRG Government has declared these agreements to be null and void since June 1941. However, at the international conference in Tallinn which was devoted to these problems it was pointed out that this resolution was "not sufficient." However, I think that it is not correct to attempt to lecture another country.

Let us now look at the protocol which must be dealt with separately from the treaty. Some people say that it virtually encouraged Hitler to unleash the war. That is not true, because the decision to attack Poland (1 September) was envisaged long before the treaty was concluded on 23 August. It is known that a war is not prepared within a week.

Recognizing, without reserve, the immoral nature of the protocols, we must state that the Army, which was weakened by Stalin's reprisals, would not have been able to put up active resistance to the aggressor, if the war had been started from the borders of the year 1939, meaning from Narva, Minsk, and the Leningrad suburbs.

I think it would be wrong to attribute the present status of the Soviet Baltic Republics only to the secret protocols. In this respect, the Soviet Union's victory in the war, and postwar developments in the East European countries under Soviet influence were of decisive importance. This had both positive and negative aspects.... Today something else is more important, namely, the fact that the European postwar borders have been recognized by the Helsinki CSCE Final Act (1975)....

In the Soviet Baltic Republics today, there are very lively discussions about the protocols. However, it must be stressed that these discussions are not connected with separatist tendencies everywhere. In the Moldavian Republic, too, people are asking that the secret protocols be assessed negatively. However, by no means do people seek to leave the USSR and join Romania. That is precisely what would happen if we were to return to what Roman law calls the status quo ante. However, that is impossible because in half a century many sociopolitical realities have changed. The world today is entirely different, and the situation in our country has also changed, because there can be no return to the Stalinist past. The call by the Council of Authorized Representatives of the Estonian People's Front to lift the declaration of July 1940 on the republic's accession to the USSR was not supported by all the people....

Soviets as Liberators

For Hitler dividing the spheres of influence in Europe and ensuring the aggression was of prime importance. Then there was Stalin's panic at the country's possible isolation and destruction. We have been able to read in numerous memoirs of Soviet army leaders and politicians that on the first day of the war Stalin was virtually paralyzed and even intended to give up the country's leadership.

Stalin's actrocities were considerable, and we are probably the ones who write and speak about them most. And yet I would not compare him with Hitler. Their roles were different prior to the war: Aggression and defense; the violation of the Nonaggression Pact on the one hand; and Stalin's paradoxical belief in the Fuehrer's honesty; the attempt to postpone the beginning of the war at costs, on the other. I think that their roles were also different in 1945.... Together with the allies, the soldiers of the Soviet Army whose supreme commander was Stalin at that time, also liberated Europe. History cannot be revised, much as people would like to do so.

Analyst Comments on Molotov Pact Anniversary

LD2508094189 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—By TASS news analyst Ivan Petrov:

The main events in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia during this week centered on one date—the 50th anniversary of the signing of the non-aggression treaty between the Soviet Union and Germany (August 23, 1939).

The keynote of the judgments of the newspapers of the three Soviet Baltic republics is that the treaty, which is commonly known as the 'Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact', and the secret protocol to it, became a juridical basis for 'the annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by the Soviet Union'.

This point of view is expressed not only by private individuals but also by the official media. A conclusion of the commission of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet (parliament) was made public recently. It says that the German-Soviet treaties 'predetermined the loss' of the sovereignty and independence of the Lithuanian Republic. The commission maintains that the declaration dated July 21, 1940 by the People's Sejm of Lithuania on the republic's accession to the USSR, is unlawful.

The recent events marking the treaty's anniversary in the three Soviet baltic republics took place under 'be independent again and regain statehood' slogans.

The 'Baltic road' action, organised by the people's fronts, was the central event. People formed a giant human chain stretching for 600 kilometres from the Hermann Tower in Tallinn to the Gediminas Tower in Vilnius. Many participants in the protest wore black armbands.

The people's fronts sought to draw attention of the foreign public to the human chain protest action. This is why, perhaps, calls such as 'Russians, get out of the Baltic region' were written, contrary to logic, in English, not Russian.

A large number of foreign guests were invited to attend various meetings, rallies and symposia. A symposium attended by lawyers and political scientists from the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Britain, and Denmark was held in Riga, the capital of Latvia. And it seems the hosts and the guests did not agree on all things.

Representatives of Latvian nationalist movements call for limiting the rights of Russians who live in the republic and even for deporting them. But, as was noted by William Huff, an international legal expert from New York, Western democracies will never be supporters of those who call for the deportation of the non-indigenous population from Latvia and other Baltic republics.

And what about Moscow's stand? Unlike the Baltic republics where emotional estimates understandably quite often prevail over sober analyses, the central press sought to calmly analyse the historical situation connected with the conclusion of the pact and its consequences.

Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev, who heads the commission elected at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies for political and legal evaluation of the Soviet-German non-aggression treaty, voiced an authoritative opinion.

In a PRAVDA interview he emphasised in particular that, irrespective of evaluations of the treaty itself, it should be recognised that 'neither the treaty nor the protocol to it determined the juridical and political status of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The change of their status occurred by virtue of other circumstances. It is still more far-fetched to look for some inter- relationship between the present position of the three republics and the non-aggression treaty'.

It has been noticed in the Soviet Union that most Western analysts in their coverage of mass demonstrations in the Baltic region showed a sober-minded approach.

A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry pointed out at a briefing on Thursday [24 August] that, in the opinion of a number of Western analysts, the 'rocking of the Soviet multi-ethnic boat is at the same time the rocking of the European and world boat'.

It is hard to disagree with this. Now that changes for the better are still very fragile, the future depends in many respects on how deep will be the realisation of the simple truth: We live in a closely inter-connected and inter-dependent world.

'Anti-Soviet' Actions in Lithuania Reported

LD2508111489 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—Today's PRAVDA reports anti-Soviet actions in the Baltic republic of Lithuania and criticises the stand of the republic's party organisations.

The paper refers to the violation of the constitutional rights of Russians, Belorussians, Poles and members of other nationalities who account for 20 per cent of Lithuania's population.

There is no longer any trace of tolerance to minorities, which people's deputies from the Baltic republics, Lithuania in particular, insisted upon at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the PRAVDA correspondent emphasises.

"An overt division of forces of the indigenous and non-ethnic population is now under way in the republic.

"What will become of it? Do all Lithuanians support the idea of the republic's secession from the Soviet Union? Yes, judging by opinions expressed in the republic, many do, but by no means all.

"Sober-minded politicians, scientists, people engaged in cultural and art activities, party, local-government and economic leaders, and workers are aware that severance of political and economic ties with the Soviet Union would entail unpredictable consequences for the economy and genuine sovereignty of Lithuania.

"The party leaders of the republics should express their stand more clearly and come forward with a convincing program for perestroyka at local level, and bring it to the attention of all Communists and broad sections of the population.

"This has not yet been done. What should one think of the stand of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee if two secretaries of the Central Committee, as members of the commission of the republic's Supreme

Soviet, put their signatures to the commission's statement concerning the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact? The commission was headed by Juras Pozela, member of the bureau of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party and president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

"Or how should people estimate the fact that Justas Paleckis, head of a department of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, as PRAVDA already reported, signed a 'communique' which virtually demands that the republic secede from the Soviet Union?

"Many in Lithuania now ask these questions and do not find an answer. The lack of clarity in the stand of the republic's leaders is manifest," PRAVDA's correspondent says.

Lithuanian Official on Financial Autonomy

LD1508221189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1430 GMT on 15 August in the "Vremya" newscast broadcasts a 4-minute report by Sergey Medvedev from Lithuania on the scientific production association Venta, which specializes in electronics. It is one of the first to change over to financial autonomy. Yu. Klimashauskas, Venta director general, tells Medvedev the association guarantees that it will meet all contracts without fail. Furthermore, the workers wish to manage their own enterprise, paying a certain sum of money to the republican budget and introducing various economic incentives to stimulate workers to produce more. The video shows the interior of the works and staff in white gowns working.

Medvedev then interviews K.P. Prunskene, a USSR people's deputy and deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. She says: "I believe that in the near future all enterprises subordinate to the USSR must assume a nondepartmental status, and beginning next year they should be regulated by republican laws."

Medvedev says: "Financial autonomy is a step toward economic self-reliance. What do you understand by this general term of economic self-reliance?"

Prunskene replies: "It means that it is possible to manage the economy according to the model that takes account of local conditions, which is worked out by a local people's power jointly with the republican public, and which is endorsed by the public of that republic. It means the possibility of enjoying the results of one's labor and living on the basis of these results."

Medvedev asks: "Does this mean that the republic would have a currency of its own?"

Prunskene replies: "Internal money, whatever term we may use to describe it, does not yet mean currency. Internal money, as a protective measure [rus zashchitnoye sredstvo] is simply necessary. If we create a free market, if goods are to be directed at the consumer but not vice versa, such protective measures will not be necessary." The video shows Medvedev and Prunskene in an office.

Lithuania's Economic Independence Discussed

LD1408131789 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 29 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by J. Paskocinas, entitled "The Further—The More Obstacles?" under the rubric "Economic Independence: How Are We Implementing it?"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpts] Whenever the subject of Lithuania's economic independence is currently discussed or written about, it is referred to in the future tense—what it should be like, how we should aminister it. What is being currently done, however, to ensure we may adminster our economy ourselves from 1990? Here is a report on this subject, with a new rubric from the Lithuanian Communist Party [CP] Central Committee [CC], and the Council of Ministers Commission for Republic Economy Questions meeting.

Stores are like a mirror of our economy and our life. A current look, at this mirror, however, puts one into a bad mood. It can't be good, because it is becoming more and more difficult to buy even some necessities, since more often, even the less frequent consumer goods purchases, top many an individual's monthly salary.

What is happening? What will happen tomorrow? Where is the solution? I see these questions in people's eyes and read them in their letters. Many other problems exist, also. A great many of them are caused by the willfulness of central dictate. How should they be resolved?

Some of Lithuania's residents look forward to a change for the better, once economic independence is regained. This path presents many obstacles, however. I was convinced of this, once again, at the Lithuanian CP CC and Council of Ministers Commission on Questions of the Republic's Economy meeting. Having announced a General Principles Draft for Administration of the Union Republics' Social and Economic Areas, According to New Restructuring Principles, the center is not inclined to alter them to suit the remarks and recommendations of republic representatives. What is Lithuania recommending? How to improve general principles, that don't provide genuine independence?

Vladas Astrauskas, deputy rector of the Institute For Agricultural Planning and Economic Science Research observed correctly, General Principles—are like an instruction, which decides every detail, and foresees everything in advance. Can such a document, however, be appropriate for every republic and free it from the central dictate? V. Astrauskas is of the opinion, it is imperative to demand from the Union, the right to adapt

it and be governed by our own model and concept. Who is going to do the demanding? Hardly a week passes, without some small or larger group of Lithuanian Government members and Sajudis representatives going to the USSR Council of Ministers, Planning Committee, Ministry of Finance, and other ministries, with their proposals. Lithuanian specialists are constantly at work in Moscow. As the saying goes, drop after drop.... But that may be too little. This is where one expects USSR Soviet delegates from Lithuania to speak up.

Deputy Chief of the State Planning Committee, Antanas Mercaitis, was in an optimistic frame of mind. In his opinion, our deptuties will not be alone, in view of the fact, the majority of soviet deputies are new people, with a new perspective and truly desirous of restructuring. This is a force, indeed, which may achieve changes in the General Principles that would suit republic interests.

Of course, should this come to pass—we would mark it as no small victory. Are all the union republics, however, leaning toward and independent economy and have all soviet deputies grasped the center's aspirations? Experience indicates—they have not. Speeches concerning restructuring and concrete actions often bypass each other.

Kazimieras Antanavicius, USSR soviet deputy and section chief of the Economics Institute of the Academy of Sciences, announced the ongoing preparation of Lithuanian draft laws on Republic Economic Independence, local self-government, enterprise, anti-monopoly, bankruptcy, and others.

They will be set forth for deliberation before the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's nearest session. While listening to the professor, the thought occurred to me, if these laws are passed, we will have a very serious argument, in defence of our views toward republic independence.

Kazimiera Prunskiene, USSR Soviet Deputy and rector of the Institute for the Raising of Economics Administrative Worker and Specialist Qualifications, noted that we discussed, along with the Estonians, raising the question of the rights of republics, which are changing over to economic independence, before the next USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The professor proposed keeping the Lithuanian concept and also, concurrently, improving the general principles. In her opinion, any random self-administration variant, anticipates cooperation with other republics. Thus, in participating in the improvement of the general principles, we will contribute to others as well as ourselves.

From the very onset of our move toward economic independence, it has become obvious that scientists and production specialists don't always speak the same language. [passage omitted] This was discussed by Klemensas Seputis, director Kaunas "Inkaras" Rubber Products Enterprise. Unfortunately, we heard answers to only a part of the questions, vital to industrial workers, time is fleeting!

Will enterprises obtain genuine independence or will the recent command method, not by Moscow, but instead, by Vilnius bureaucrats, be enforced? K. Seputis addressed this question with concern.

This brought to mind a letter I received from Kaunas Road builders. It stated, a "Road" association was established during the reorganization of the Ministry of Transportation. It should apportion materials—stone and gravel, to road building administrations. Soon, however, a production technology replenishment adminstration sprang into being, whose tens of workers, serve as "go-betweens" among the association and the production administrations. Road builders see no benefit from this, only a hindrance, while the "go-betweens" charge for the services, fabricated by themselves, with their own support in view. This is, however, the way we ourselves breed bureaucrats and dependents and put obstacles in our own path. That is what frightens many an industrial worker.

Commission Chairman and Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary, Bronislavas Zaikauskas stated—if we were to transfer the old system of economic administration to Lithuania, it would mean we are doing nothing, even now. This must not happen, under any circumstances. What are we going to do? We are going to establish enterprises and associations, that are not placed under departmental jurisdiction.

Union ministries are very interested in their own fate and, thus, attempt, by any means possible, to retain Lithuanian enterprises under their jurisdiction. On the one hand, they promise raw materials and facilities, on the other, they threaten to discontinue all supplies and to stifle them with a huge state order. This can, of course, have a negative effect, if the union jurisdiction enterprises, that are in Lithuania, do not get away from USSR ministry jurisdictions, during 1990. The enterprises that are coming out should know, however, whether they will become independent.

Many would trade independence for big bucks, with which union ministries are tempting industrial workers. However, ruble currency in not to be found lying about in the street. A shortage of currency—Lithuania's economic position is weak.

I recall the difficult and complicated negotiations, that took place some time ago, between "Grigiskiai" Association, Moscow "Vneshpoligrafeksport," and an Austrian, British, and Turkish firm.

I marvelled at the wisdom and stubborness of "Grigiskiai" administrators and experts. It is difficult to convince foreign firms to become one's associates, when one has only Soviet rubles at his disposal. Without such associates, one might as well not think about a modern enterprise, that would give a production yield, in keeping with the world standard, and also, provide a currency income. However, without one or the other, Lithuania's economic independence and self-administration—only a mirage.... [passage omitted]

This was the commission's first meeting, which, after a recess, was attended also, by scientists representing Lithuanian Sajudis. A common goal is uniting all forces.

Commission Chairman, B. Zaikauskas announced, the commission will soon deliberate the Draft Law for Republic Economic Independence, edit the Lithuanian Economic Accountability Concept, outline our 1990 action plan and put, before the center, our remarks on the Basic Principles. The public will be furnished information, regularly, on the commission's activity.

Appeal to Lithuanian Poles on Autonomy Demand

PM1108083989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 1

["Appeal by Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet to Lithuania's Poles"—SOVETSKAYA LITVA headline]

[Text] The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet notes that the resolute readiness of the Lithuanian population to create a civic-minded society on the basis of a democratic state is the only correct road which makes it possible to lay the foundations for uniting in an indivisible society not only Lithuanians, but also the other peoples living in the republic who are capable of ensuring perestroyka in all spheres of economic, social, and political life.

At the same time, the republic's inhabitants are worried by the fact that so-called "Polish territorial autonomy" is being declared in some villages.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet appeals to Lithuania's Poles as follows:

"The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet supports the national and cultural rebirth of Lithuania's Poles and proposes that all the forces of Lithuania's Poles unite to achieve this noble aim.

"The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet adheres to the principled opinion that Lithuanian territory is integral and indivisible and that this accords with moral and historical aspirations and also the will of most of the republic's population. Based on this, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet calls on local soviets to abolish the decisions adopted by them on forming Polish autonomous villages as contravening the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

"The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet appeals to Lithuania's Poles to participate most vigorously together with representatives of other peoples in formulating a Law on Nationalities."

[Signed] Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet

Kaunas Plenum Calls for Multiple Parties

PM1108144389 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Jul 89 p 1

[ELTA report: "Party Organization and the City's Problems"]

[Text] Kaunas, 12 Jul—The political situation in the city, the situation in its party organization, and the future status of the Lithuanian Communist Party were discussed at yesterday's extraordinary joint plenum of the party city committee [gorkom] and party rayon committees [raykoms], convened at the proposal of a group of party workers.

The four main speakers—Romualdas Rimaytis, first secretary of the party gorkom; Vitautas Arbachyauskas, first secretary of the Leninskiy Raykom; Vitautas Nortkus, first secretary of the Panyamunskiy Raykom; and Vasiliy Popov, first secretary of the Pozhelskiy Raykom—presented their positions on the questions under discussion. The plenum was addressed by more than 20 Communists.

Analyzing the situation in the city, the speakers stressed that economic reform has failed to produce the expected results. Ministries and departments are still telling enterprises what to do. There has been no improvement in material and technical supply.

The party gorkom is being slow to restructure, is in no hurry to give up the old work style and methods, and is delaying in resolving the tasks created by the rapidly changing situation in life. In this connection the speakers criticized the party gorkom bureau and its first secretary, Romualdas Rimaytis, who, in the opinion of many Communists, is not a real leader of perestroyka. It was stressed that in the new conditions the party apparatus must have a new structure and that it is necessary to divide the functions of party and economic bodies. The city should be left with only one party committee, which must concentrate its efforts on improving political and ideological work. The city's problems should be resolved via the Communists working in organs of executive power, economic enterprises, institutions, and social organizations.

When discussing the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party, it was stressed that the overwhelming majority of the city's Communists are in favor of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party and wish to be members of that party. They approved the resolution of the 18th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on convening a Lithuanian Communist Party Congress to adopt the party's program and statutes. Only an independent party expressing the people's hopes and aspirations and leading to the revival of a sovereign republic and the building of a society where the principles of humanism, social justice, peace, and freedom are put into practice can have a political future in Lithuania. At the same time, it was proposed to more

rapidly draw up a concept of socioeconomic development in Lithuania that will serve the good of the people.

The party, the plenum said, must not just declare its leading role, it must earn authority by working for the good of the people. Consequently, Article 6 of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitution should be changed. A sure way to prevent the return of totalitarianism is the right to set up other parties, whose activity would be regulated by the Constitution. World experience confirms that the existence of a constructive opposition is useful to society and guards against many mistakes. There must be a dialogue with "Sajudis," the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka, and with other political forces.

The plenum adopted resolutions on the political situation in the city, the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party, and the basic principles for reviving its independence. It was decided to convene a city party conference in September to resolve questions of improving future activity.

The plenum was addressed by V. Baltrunas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum was broadcast on local radio.

Letter Urges Restitution to Lithuanian Church

LD1808131989 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 17, 22 Apr 89 p 10

[Letter signed by Gediminas Karalius, Vladas Vildziunas, and Vaidotas Zukas]

[Text] A statement signed by 250 Lithuanian cultural activists had been published in the 11 February issue of LITERATURA IR MENAS that requested everything confiscated from the Lithuanian church during the hapless postwar years be returned to it. The new representative of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic's Council for Religious Affairs sent a reply that was no different, however, from the former representative's positions—it failed to delve into church problems and also ignored them.

Lithuania's cultural activists are demanding, first of all, the reinstatement of the church's **full worth and legal parity** status, in relation to the state. Demonstration of concern for and fulfillment of this, without demands for "either time, or funds," should be the first premise in a government's self-respect. Those Lithuanian people, who have suffered during the period of Stalinist genocide, have already been rehabilitated. It is time to acknowledge, as quickly as possible, illegal Stalin-Khruschev-Brezhnev atheistic fury creations (both external and internal). For more than 40 years, the relationship between the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and the church could have been characterized as that between a gendarme and a duped pawn. Is it any different now?

Lithuanian cultural activists are informed in writing, "state and church relations are improving noticeably. Churches are being returned, permission is granted for construction of new churches, opportunities are being given for statements in the press, radio, and television, etc." Yes, relations are improving as it suddenly becomes bright in a darkened cell once the board is removed from its window—one's heart experiences joy, even gratefulness. However, window bars and the severe regimen remain.

What we have achieved currently is due to the many years of efforts, collecting scores of hundred thousands of signatures, scores of delegations knocking at our own high gates, as well as those of Moscow. (The Klaipeda Queen of Peace Church process alone took that much effort).

A few nice gestures toward the believers amounts to one small teardrop, anyhow, compared to the hundreds of desecrated and not returned shrines and other edifices.

In comparing the percentage of Lithuanian believer viewing and listening audiences with the TV and radio time allotment for religious programs, one will discover it to be totally disproportionate. Where are the vital publications for youth, and not only for youth? For example, "Religion in Today's World," "Bible Reading and Explanations," "Religion And Art," Religion and Literature," "... and Philosophy," "...and Archeology," " ... And the Law," "...and Ethics," etc. Frequently, in museums young individuals ask naive questions concerning biblical subjects that are the basis for almost all of the past 2,000 years of art. A literature fancier who is unfamiliar with religions and the gospel will not only fail to grasp Dante, "Don Quixote," the works of Donelaitis or Dostoyevskiy, but also those of Biliunas, Faulkner, and Joyce.

The religious representative's reply further states: "Houses of prayer are returned per decisions of executive councils and the council of ministers only in cases where a desire for such has been expressed by the church and the believers." Unfortunately, facts to the contrary may be found in the immediate vicinity in Pavilnis: For more than 5 years, several hundred Bezoniai believers have been requesting the return of their desecrated church, currently, a hall of sport. To date, all of the parishioner efforts have come to naught. Kaunas Jezuit Church, well-known for it magnificent organ, still remains a sports hall! St. Stephen's Church in New Vilna and the Juodkrante Sanctuary have not been returned.

Where are the Lithuanian Catholic monasteries, which have disseminated throughout the ages not only the good news, but also the light of a multi-faceted culture?

Not a single one has, as yet, been returned to its rightful owners. For example, a sizeable group of Lithuanian Franciscans is yearning to regain the Kretinga Monastery, the long famous Lithuania's Little Brothers Center. They are prepared to care for the people's art museum currently housed there, especially in view of the fact that the theme and purpose of the majority of its displays tends to be religious. Vilnius Carmelite Monastery

should be returned to house the church projected Museum of Religious Art, while the Bazilijonai Monastery, along with its church, should be turned over to its real owners—the Uniates. And so forth.

Without going into too much detail or commenting upon the entire religious representative's reply to those concerned with religious liberties, Lithuanian cultural activists, we call your attention to the mention at the end of the reply of the new Freedom of Conscience Law, by means of which the church is to be accorded juridical personal rights. This, however, is being prepared at no less a location than Moscow. The nation is advancing toward sovereignty, while **awaiting** but not receiving laws announced by Moscow!? Should this law be passed by Moscow, Telsiai Executive Committee will "decide favorably" "the question" of returning the Telsiai Bishop's Palace and will politely move to some other building that has no rational assignation. What if the law is not passed by Moscow or is only partially approved (semi-freedom of conscience), will the magic circle be closed again? Will Vilnius and Zemaiciai Seminaries, that can prepare priests for pedagogical and academic work, but most importantly, that can fill the vacant owner-awaiting positions in the 150 shrines (a hundred of which have not yet been returned) be reopened and will the demolished Vilnius and Berzoras Kalvarija and its chapels be rebuilt etc.?

We are of the opinion that religions' affairs with the state should be coordinated not solely by (and not so much) by the state, as also by church representatives. As far as the new church affairs representative is concerned, he should carry on his work facing his nation instead of turning to Moscow!

Let there exist equal rights and one freedom in Lithuania for those who see "Paths of Decency" [passage from Lithuanian hymn] in religious education, as well as for those who reject religion.

Reference is made in the religious affairs representative's reply to Cardinal V. Sladkevicius, equating the joyous changes with the Cana Feast in Galilee; it should probably be interpreted as the **first** of Christ's miracles (obtained, by the way, through His Mother Mary's intercession)—a miracle, that was followed by a multitude of others.

We shall await in the near future brave and substantial changes that will ensure justice in Lithuania.

Group To Monitor Lithuanian Nuclear Power Safety

PM1108104589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 2

["Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Measures To Ensure the Safety of the Ignalina Nuclear Power Station"—SOVETSKAYA LITVA headline]

[Text] In connection with a question from Z. Vayshvily, a deputy of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves to instruct the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers:

1. To ask the USSR Council of Ministers to obtain the necessary information about the Ignalina nuclear power station and to prepare on this basis an appeal to the governments of interested neighboring states. The text of the appeal is to be published in the press. The public is to be informed about the answers.

2. To form a group consisting of scientists, representatives of state establishments, and the republic's public to participate in the work of an international expert commission and immediately present it with all the necessary information.

[Signed] V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
L. Sabutis, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Vilnius, 5 July 1989

AUCCTU Appeals to Estonian Supreme Soviet

18001530 Moscow TRUD in Russian 16 Aug 89 p 1

[Text of appeal signed by AUCCTU Presidium—date not given]

[Text] **Appeal to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]**

Dear comrades!

The AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], in expressing the interests of the workers of the USSR, is deeply perturbed by the sociopolitical situation which has recently been developing in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

We are receiving numerous letter, telegrams, and appeals from workers, kolkhoz [collective farm] workers, and intellectuals of various regions and republics of the country. They express valid anxiety in light of the Law on Elections to Local Soviets, adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, which established a residency qualification, and in which a significant portion of the republic's population saw an infringement upon one of man's basic civil rights, the right to participate in elections and to be elected. Such limitations contradict the statutes of the USSR Constitution and the norms of international law.

The decisions adopted are objectively leading to a schism in the working class, and the republic's workers based on national indications, to confrontation in labor collectives, and to the accumulation of dangerous political and social tensions. This is a path leading to deadlock, to great misfortune, first and foremost for the simple people, the rank-and-file toilers. After all, it is they who who suffer most of all from the disorganization of economic, political, and social life.

In the name of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Union, we address the Supreme Soviet of Estonia and its Presidium with an appeal to display balanced judgment and political wisdom, and to return to the examination of the issues associated with the Law on Election to the Local Soviets based upon the necessity to provide equality in the electoral rights of all citizens living in the republic.

Extrication from the situation which has come about is possible only through democratic means, through broad dialogue, and through strict observance of constitutional norms and the vital interests of the entire population on the basis of national consent.
[Signed]AUCCTU Presidium

Legality of Estonian Resolutions Upheld

18001539 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 pp 2-3

["Report by ESSR Minister of Justice A. Kiris on the Legal Validity of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Resolutions Dated 16 November 1988"]

[Text] Esteemed deputies of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet! At the previous session, 11 deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet submitted an inquiry to me. It is noted in the inquiry that on 16 November 1988, our Supreme Soviet adopted the Law "On Amendements and Additions to the Constitution (Main Law) of the Estonian SSR" and the Declaration on Sovereignty. Some provisions of these acts contravene the fundamental principles of the USSR Constitution and the organization of national statehood of the USSR. In this context, they point to Article 74 of the USSR Constitution which asserts that, in the event the law of a union republic is at variance with the all-union law, the USSR law applies. From the above, the conclusion is drawn that a greater part of the above acts is invalid. The inquiry also notes that the Estonian SSR acts dated 16 November 1988 run counter to political common sense reflected in Article 68 of the Estonian SSR Constitution, according to which the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a common, multinational union state, in order to achive certain goals. The deputies express their concern in conjunction with the state laws being ignored in Estonia and the attempts of certain circles to set our laws against those of the union in the process of developing the former. At the same time, the law enforcement organs of the republic allegedly do not state clearly their point of view concerning the situation in question, and at the Supreme Soviet session on 16 November of last year, they misled deputies by their statements, due to which many deputies voted in favor of the corresponding law, being convinced that it complies with the union law.

The authors of the inquiry note that, given the above circumstances, their goal is to secure a legally grounded response concerning the elimination of contradictions of the Estonian SSR and all-union laws, as well as an evaluation of the situation which has emerged and the disrespectful attitude toward the laws from the standpoint of legislation and the formation of the rule-of-law state. I can outline to the deputies only my concise point of view on these issues without considering them as inquiries in the meaning set forth in Article 58 of the Rules of Procedure of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, since the issues raised do not fall directly within the the scope of responsibilities of the Estonian SSR Ministry of Justice and the offices reporting to it, but is within the jurisdiction of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet as the supreme organ of power in the republic.

I would not like to invite the attention of deputies to references to the events preceding 16 November of last year, but we cannot ignore some important political and legal milestones on the path of the republic's striving for sovereignty. I will remind you that in late 1987 and early 1988, the Estonian SSR Government submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers through the union Gosplan [State Planning Committee] extensive proposals on expanding the economic jurisdiction of the republic. They brought virtually no results, but in the course of developing them quite essential work was done on developing our economic and political thinking in the direction of economic independence of the republic with the use of some IME [Economically Accountable Estonia] elements. In the course of preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, its own political platform was worked out in the republic, the pivotal idea of which was to expand the economic and political sovereignty of the republic. As is known, from among our provisions the idea of regional economic accountability was included in the conference resolution. At the same time, the course of development of the IME concepts was showing with increasing clarity that an expansion of economic independence is impossible in the absence of essential shifts in the political organization of society.

The administrative-command system represents a unified entity, which cannot be reorganized piecemeal, due to which delays in the reform of the political system would hinder—we might say, mercilessly—economic restructuring. In all of this, it needs to be acknowledged that our law adopted by the Supreme Soviet on 16 November of last year has given a very essential impetus to the reform of the political system in our country, which began with making changes and amendments in the USSR Constitution and the acute struggle entailed by them. Specifically, the adoption of our law and the constitutional conflict associated with it showed that the relations between the USSR central authorities and the union republics are not organized very well from the law and political points of view, and are still less legally regulated.

If Articles 70, 72, 74, and 75 are compared, and other articles, in particular Articles 73 and 76 are contrasted with them, it becomes absolutely incomprehensible what the sovereignty of a union republic amounts to and what the practical manifestations of this sovereignty are.

Article 73 of the USSR Constitution defines the jurisdiction of the USSR in such a manner that it is virtually impossible for the union republics to resolve any important issue.

Even the few rights of a union republic accorded to it by the legislation were not taken into account for many decades. We know not only from the practice of our republic, but by now also from the central press about the degree to which union ministries ignored the interests of union republics, their opinion and needs.

In adopting the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Estonian SSR on 16 November 1988, and establishing on the same day a mechanism of implementing the sovereignty of the republic by amending its constitution, the Supreme Soviet of our republic raised very sharply an issue of principle, associated with relations between union republics and the central authorities of the Union, that of the essence of the USSR as a union state. Let us recall that on 22 July 1940, the State Duma of Estonian SSR noted in its declaration that it was seeking the admission of Estonia to the Soviet Union in the capacity of a union republic, on the same basis on which the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, and other union republics belong to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Did the Estonian SSR cease to exist as a sovereign state by virtue of this act, did she legally renounce her sovereignty and statehood? She did not, because not one political or legal document on such a renunciation exists. Let us not discuss the authority of the State Duma to adopt such a decision on this issue and its legal authority in general, which has been sharply disputed recently and which has already been mentioned here today.

In this instance, we are interested in whether the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic ceased to exist as a sovereign state by virtue of this act, whether she legally renounced her sovereignty and thus her statehood. I daresay that the Estonian SSR, having joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a republic with equal rights, has legally maintained her state sovereignty. Not only the history of emergence of the Soviet Union, but also the initial documents of this extremely interesting state entity, which reflected the victory of Lenin's concept in forming a new union of states, give us the right to state this. Provisions on matters of principle in the USSR Constitution in effect also give us the right to make a similar statement. They were in effect in November 1988 as well. Article 76 of this Constitution proclaims quite plainly that a union republic is a sovereign Soviet socialist state, which has united which other Soviet republics in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This extremely important provision is bolstered by Part 1 of Article 77 of the Constitution which provides for forms of participation by the union republics in resolving issues coming under the authority of the union. Article 78, which prohibits changing the territory of a union republic without her consent, Article 79—the right of union republics to resolve the issues of administrative division. Article 80—the right to establish relations with foreign states, sign treaties with them, exchange diplomatic and consular representatives, and participate in the activities of international organizations. Article 70 of the Constitution also stresses that the USSR has been formed as a result of free self-determination of the nations and voluntary unification of Soviet Socialist Republics enjoying equal rights.

Article 72 of the Constitution maintains the right of every republic to freely leave the USSR as a guarantee of the voluntary nature of such unification. It looks like these examples should suffice in order to confirm that the states which have voluntarily joined the USSR are the sovereign subjects of power in their capacity of union republics. To be sure, the interpretation of the notion of state sovereignty varies greatly in different concepts of the theory of state, and the issue of sovereignty of a state which is a part of some association of states is even more intricate. However, this notwithstanding, there is no doubt that the sovereignty of state denotes complete and indivisible state authority. Every first-year student of the law department knows this; this means that a sovereign state exercises power in its territory only independently, subordinate to no one on the outside and sharing power inside the state with no one.

Proceeding from this, the provisions of the USSR Constitution that contradict the above and infringe on the rights of union republics need to be changed as soon as possible in the course of the political reform. The great-power tactics, which have emerged over many decades and which contradict the laws, need to be changed even more rapidly; in keeping with them, the central organs of the union, as well as ministries and departments, have begun to consider union republics their subordinate organs. It was in order to eliminate such practices and to defend our sovereignty from infringements that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet—that is, the current membership of the Supreme Soviet, you, esteemed deputies, adopted on 16 November of last year the acts which are a matter of principle, and the action of which was questioned.

Proceeding from the above, we should respond in the positive to the question about the legality of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet adopting the above acts. Are these acts in effect in our republic at present? Nobody has the authority to abolish an act adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet as the supreme organ of power in a sovereign republic except the Supreme Soviet itself. This is one of the manifestations of republic sovereignty.

Indeed, Section 3 of Article 76 of the USSR Constitution establishes the requirement that the Constitution of a union republic must comply with the USSR Constitution. Subsection 5 of Article 119 (in November of last year, it was Subsection 4 of Article 121) charges the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet with ensuring the compliance of Constitutions and laws of union republics with the Constitution and laws of the USSR. However, a

mechanism for ensuring this, that is, in essence a mechanism for resolving conflicts between the union and union republics, has not been worked out thus far. Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, which lays down that in the event the law of a union republic and the all-union law are at variance the USSR law is in effect cannot be extended to the Constitution. The USSR Constitution clearly establishes the difference between simple laws and constitutions. Therefore, this article does not contradict the constitution. Section 2 of Article 64 of the Rules of Procedure of the USSR Supreme Soviet, adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 19 April 1979, is the only form of resolving such a constitutional legislative collision contained in the law. According to it, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, having discovered a discrepancy between the Constitution or a law of the union republic and the USSR Constitution or law, raises the issue of bringing the Constitution or law of the union republic into compliance with the USSR Constitution or law with the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the union republic, issuing a ukase in this matter if need be.

With regard to our acts dated 16 November of last year, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet acted differently. To be sure, on 26 November of last year the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet did discuss this issue, but, contrary to the aforementioned Rules of Procedure, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet itself declared our provisions of 16 November invalid in its ukase of 26 November, Article 1. This act is definitely not legally valid. However, it is important to recall that, while discussing this issue on November 26 of last year at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the chair of the meeting, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet M.S. Gorbachev proposed on the spot to make an addition to the second point of the of the draft ukase, the essence of which is in acknowledging the feasibility; to work out within the framework of the next stage of political reform a system of measures and state-legal mechanisms with a view to ensuring the political and socio-economic interests of union republics and the expansion and defense of their sovereign rights within the union.

To date, this mechanism has not been entirely worked out. We should note in this instance that thus far the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has not responded at all to the introduction of amendments and additions to the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and their declaration of sovereignty—acts similar to those of our Supreme Soviet—adopted in mid-May of this year (on 15 May, if memory serves). At present, the second stage of political reform is under way in the USSR. In the course of this stage, urgent measures are needed for the further development of the Soviet federation, in keeping with the implementation of resolutions of the 19th party conference. Pursuant to the resolutions of the conference, the expansion of the rights of union republics and autonomous divisions by delineating the authority of the USSR and of union republics is primarily at issue. This is the right way. The Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Estonian SSR adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 16 November of last year also calls on us to follow this path.

In summation, several more remarks. A situation when collisions of this kind arise in the legislative system is not normal at all. It is particularly unacceptable for lawyers who have to apply the laws in practice, because it is extermely difficult to implement such acts, and they cause an entire array of legal problems. However, thus far we are not in a position to change the causes of this. We may facilitate eliminating them through vigorous efforts and constructive proposals of ours on putting in order the relations between the union and the union republics. This is what our republic has been doing.

At the same time, the processes of renewal occurring in our country at present are referred to as revolutionary. In the environment of a revolution, the old legislation unavoidably comes to contradict to a certain degree the emerging new relations. However, this is a temporary phenomenon; the objective on the path to a rule-of-law state should be to bring our legal mechanism in line with reality and needs. However, legal regulation unavoidably trails our vital needs. We have seen it here, today as well; at the same time, it frequently is more advanced than our understanding of what reality should be.

Secondly, concerning the assertion in the question addressed to me about some of the deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet having been misled by the representatives of law enforcement organs when adopting the acts of 16 November, this is very hard to understand. I am convinced that deputies of the supreme organ of power of the republic are competent enough in order to resolve important issues independently proceeding from their political experience and knowledge, as well as the will of their electorate, and will not allow themselves to be cheated by either the representatives of law enforcement organs or political demagogs of another kind, who, proceeding from their personal or group ambitions, are interested in aggravating the political situation in our republic.

Duration of Debate on Election Law Questioned

PM1108122489 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Question to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] This question was put on behalf of the Presidium of the Coordinating Council of the International Movement of Working People of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] by V. Vinogradov, its secretary, in a statement addressed to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Its essence is this: Why was the resolution adopted 20 June this year on submitting for public discussion the draft laws "On Making Changes and Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)" and "On Elections to Local Soviets of

People's Deputies in the Estonian SSR" published only 25 June? Thus the discussion of the draft laws is confined to just 3 weeks.

The editorial board asked A. Almann, secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to answer this question:

"When a resolution on nationwide discussion of some document is adopted, it is in PRINCIPLE impossible to publish it that same day. And this was the case here: During the discussion of the draft documents at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session there emerged amplifications, changes, and additions which had still to be checked on the lawmaking side. That took 2 days. In addition, such documents are usually published on a rest day, so that people can read and discuss them calmly. Thus, indeed, there were 20 days left for discussion."

Estonia's Lasnamyae Strikers Reiterate Demands

18001543 Moscow TRUD in Russian
17 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by R. Baleva in Tallinn: "Hands Have Missed the Work"]

[Text] **New factors have appeared on Estonia's political horizon. Among them is the ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the disparity between the USSR Constitution and several statutes of the Law of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] "On Introducing Changes and Supplements to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)" and the Law of the Estonian SSR "On Elections of Estonian SSR People's Deputies to Local Soviets," the revocation of the decree of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on measures to ensure legality, law, and order in the republic, and the creation of a deputy group to develop a mechanism to take the minority viewpoint into consideration. The USSR Supreme Soviet deputy group is working actively. The people's elected representatives met with the republic's leadership, visited labor collectives and the republic strike committee.**

However, for the time being, tension has not lessened. The republic strike committee is demanding supplemental guarantees. True, at some enterprises, such as the RET [expansion unknown] association, the strike was called off after a referendum. Other enterprises, for example the 9,000-strong collective of the "Krengolm" textile combine in Narva, are against some of the points of the republic's Law on Elections to Local Soviets, and simultaneously reject the strike as a method of struggling for political and civil rights.

...I visited one of the strike "hot spots," the Lasnamyae branch of the Tallinn motorcoach park.

This is what a driver first class, brigadier Sergey Zvyagin, had to say to me:

"I feel that the effect of the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] law on language should be halted until the issues of financing, preparation of teaching personnel, teaching methodology materials, and the creation of a branched network of state centers for language teaching can be created at the government level. In addition, it is necessary to create in fact, and not just in words, genuinely equal conditions for children in schools and kindergartens independent of the language of instruction, and to develop more objective rules for admitting Russian-speaking youth to ESSR VUZ's [higher educational institutions]. As far as elections to local soviets are concerned, in my view, they must be conducted in labor collectives according to production attributes. We decisively condemn the activity of the so-called 'citizens' committees of Estonia.' Furthermore, we demand an immediate cessation of the direct and indirect flaming of interethnic discord in all mass information media or public addresses.

"We are wholeheartedly for republic economic accountability, but against political concepts whose goals are to change Estonia's political and economic structure.

"We insist on the registration of rayon and city movements of Intermovement and condemn the groundless delay of this matter.

"In the event of our demands being regularly ignored, we have no opportunities to defend our rights other than to begin a campaign to create alternative structures of power functioning within the framework of the USSR Constitution....

"The demands that I have presented to you," he concluded, "were adopted on 9 August at a meeting of the labor collective of the Lasnamyae branch."

"Recognizing the specific nature of our work," says branch strike committee chairman Sergey Logachev, "and hoping that our opinion would be reckoned with all the same, we did not become involved in the strike in the beginning."

The drivers around him added in support, "You can't imagine how hard it is to sit with nothing to do. Our hands were lonely for the steering wheel. We are professional drivers, not strikers, and only extreme necessity forced us to take this step."

"And the results?"

"The televised speech of V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Central Committee the Communist Party of Estonia was, in my view, one of the encouraging results. For the first time, we heard not categorical censure, but a deep desire to understand us as well...."

During our conversation, the strike committee received a government telegram with information on the arrival of a group of USSR deputies headed by G. Tarazevich, chairman of the Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities for National Policy and Interethnic Relations.

"This, too, it a result," the workers told me upon reading the telegram.

S. Logachev announced that "As soon as the commission gets to work, recognizing the complexity of the situation, we are prepared to go back to the line. Our vehicles are also ready.

Estonian Government Deliberations Summarized

PM1108100789 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 12 Jul 89 p 1

[ETA-attributed R. Kaarepere report: "In the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers Presidium"]

[Text]**To Stop in Time**

The drawing up of national economic development plans for next year is in full swing all over the country. In Estonia, too. And it is a very painful process. The draft plan and the principles of Estonian self-management do not coincide in many respects. We are in a complex situation. The old schemes seek to squeeze us into the well-known development scenario—never mind if the plan is empty in substance, just so long as it appears fine. But this no longer suits us. Today the plan and budget must be made up with due regard for tomorrow's tasks. Of course, this process is contradictory. We do not yet even know exactly how to change the whole planning process. It is still harder to explain in Moscow the first elements of renewal and to defend them to the end. A sensible compromise is needed, for you cannot slam the door noisily behind you. And even if you do, things will not be better as a result.

The present situation is such that we are seriously at odds with the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] with regard to very many plan indicators. Deliveries of meat and milk to the union fund, the consumer goods production growth rate, the volume of industrial production as a whole, the ceilings on capital construction—we have still not arrived at a unanimous opinion on these and many other questions. It is sometimes even astounding how frivolously and voluntaristically Moscow officials try to impose additional percentages. With regard to consumer goods, for example, they believe that we have sufficient resources to produce 10 percent more of them than we ourselves actually estimate.

We are again encountering the fact that plan indicators are considered valuable in themselves. Given this approach, the actual covering of plans with semimanufactures, raw materials, and the necessary equipment appears something secondary.

How are we to act now? Calmly, as before, in a confident and well reasoned manner, as before. The Gosplan is to continue the struggle for a realistic plan. Ahead lies the defense of the draft plan at the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Council of Ministers. The republic's leaders, deputies, specialist planners, and scientists must participate in this work. The session participants discussed how to proceed most effectively.

The "train" of the plan's formulation is picking up speed. It is our task to stop in the right place. Where the spur to economic accountability begins.

Something New in Foreign Relations

Trips abroad have become more accessible. An ever-greater number of inhabitants of Estonia has been able to feel this recently. The figures are impressive. Whereas back in 1986 there were just over 4,000 people wishing to go abroad as invited guests, in the first half of this year more than 27,000 applications were received. And there are hardly any refusals now. Nevertheless....

It is no secret that there is an agonizingly long time between making the application and receiving a passport which is valid abroad. Many people have had to wait 5-6 months instead of the 1 month laid down in law. By this time many people have long since had their vacation, or the trip proves impossible for other reasons.

Perhaps someone is specially creating obstacles? Such questions were asked. Different answers are possible. On the one hand, the officials concerned have long been working to the limit of what is possible. Each one involved in drawing up documents does the work of three people (if you compare it with the norm). Although the number of employees has increased and will increase further, this is not the way out. More than 75,000 applications are expected next year. This figure could increase many times over in the next few years. Consequently, the way out is not just to increase the number of employees. The system as a whole must be changed. Much essentially pointless work is still being done today, and the system is inflexible and overcentralized.

As a first step it has been decided to create in each city and rayon its own corresponding service, where it will be possible to submit documents and obtain a passport valid abroad. In this way we will disperse the huge flow of documents and people which makes its way to Tallinn and back today. This is the first point.

A substantial simplification of the whole procedure for organizing trips abroad must follow. Corresponding proposals by the republic government have been sent to Moscow.

A decision governing foreign economic ties has also been adopted. Its chief idea is that the government establishes annual export quotas. Export licenses will be issued on the basis of these overall quotas. This is needed to ensure that the interests of Estonia as a whole do not suffer in the great enthusiasm for earning currency.

Wages Plus Pension?

There are more than 100,000 working pensioners in Estonia. There probably could be still more and their contribution could be weightier if it were not for the

restrictions on the payment of pensions. For today the pension and wages of an employee may together total only R150, and those of a worker, as a rule, R300 a month. These restrictions curb the labor enthusiasm of many able-bodied pensioners. Even before the Law on Pensions comes into force, it is planned at the all-union level to lift these pension restrictions for pensioner workers and foremen, and also invalids. Can we take one more step in Estonia and lift the restrictions on the payment of pensions for all pensioners? If so, how? The working people in the corresponding departments must find an exhaustive and comprehensively substantiated answer to these questions within 2 weeks, before the next session of the government's presidium.

In Brief

The composition of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers Commission for Development was approved. Commission Chairman I. Toome; Deputy Chairmen R. Otsason and E. Savisaar.

The progress in fulfilling the construction materials industry development program for the 12th 5-Year Plan was discussed. What has been achieved cannot satisfy us. Additional measures have been taken for the priority development of the construction materials industry and to enhance its technical standard.

A decision was adopted on additional measures to ensure the safe operation and the operational reliability of the gas supply systems.

Mikk Titma Interviewed on Interethnic Relations

18001526 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 15 Aug 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Mikk Titma by Yu. Solomonov: "'Consolidation of Forces Is the Bulwark of Perestroyka'"—date and place not given]

[Text] **We have not chosen a very original subject for our interview. Lately the sentence "The conflict took place because of interethnic reasons" has become almost banal. Likewise: "The conflict has been simmering for a long time" and "There are serious reasons for what happened." The English also call such explanations being wise after the event. Nevertheless, let us try to formulate the subject of the interview: interethnic relations and ideological work. Can ideology do anything in the present situation or forestall future situations?**

[Titma] I would not start directly with ideology, but rather from the essential social nature of the earlier and previous system of mutual relations. Formerly it consisted of removing any kind of social subjectiveness in society. In practice, will—knowledge, directives, orders—could come only from the center, and power was concentrated at the center, whence it emanated. And in this sense, any kind of subjectiveness, any manifestation of disagreement upset the operation of the system.

Today this kind of system of regulation in society is fatal because it does not really make use of the resource available in society, it stifles that resource. Comparison with other countries and with the world has finally forced us to think about it, to see clearly—for we are behind. The reason? Simple. The command system is the undoing of society, it chokes initiative. The first thing that is needed is new general principles for the self-regulation of relations in society. In our country the national problem is the worst, the largest. In order to make national policy it is necessary to see how a nation deals with definite stages in historical development. It would seem to be a clear and simple thought. But in reality? Alas! it is much more complicated. The illusion was created that here there simply is no process of the flourishing and rapprochement of nations. The differences between them are all being erased. In reality, of course, there can be no talk of such a thing. Take Central Asia, where three-fourths of the population is rural, with all its spiritual life and all its social makeup. If we look at other nations throughout the union then here we find that for a long time the national element (not uniqueness) in the management of social life has been in general lacking: the command-administrative system has driven all this somewhere deep down. But it impossible to kill national identity; it really has existed in every nation.

As a sociologist I can soberly evaluate the situation by using an historical analogy. Today it reminds me of the situation that took shape in Europe following World War I. A process of national awakening is under way. How can this process be influenced? It is necessary to create the economic, legal, and state basis on which this national recovery can be accelerated, and thus remove all possible excesses, and this means helping the development of real nations as such in the country. Only on these grounds can there be in the future a rapprochement of the kind we see on the basis of West Europe now. There, nationality boundaries really have been overcome in economic life, in science, in culture and so forth. But for this to happen it is necessary to pass through the first stage. The stage that the Baltic republics are now beginning to experience. Among the Baltic nations as the most compact in the national sense, small, and relatively developed, the process of rebirth has moved most rapidly and intensively. But on an all-union scale this must be regarded as the rule rather than the exception. It is happening in Moldavia, in Armenia, in Georgia, in Azerbaijan, in Central Asia. And finally, in Russia.

It is simply that among the numerically large peoples there is no danger of degeneration or the disappearance of the nation; these processes take place in other ways. The movement starts along social lines. In Russia the intelligentsia was the first to be involved in perestroyka. And the first conflicts were between the intelligentsia and the administrative-command system. Today, broader strata have been brought into play. Just look at who is involved today in national rebirth. Workers, technicians, employees...

[Solomonov] The administrative-command system instituted by Stalin, if we may express it thus, has denationalized the nations by hiding behind slogans about further burgeoning and rapprochement, and clothed national policy in it... And today we are paying off the old scores: the resettlement of entire peoples, the struggle against "rootless cosmopolitans," the violent diktat from the center, the stifling of initiative at the local level. But what form will these processes assume? that is the question. There was a purpose in prefacing this interview with the alarming reports with which the press is bespattered.

[Titma] Here a great deal depends on those who are trying to influence the process. We have two modes of behavior. One is to try everywhere to stifle any manifestations of national rebirth. The worse method is to clash with people head on and create counterforces at the local level. This is fatal. Today, when the general level of political standards, and of standards in general, is still extremely low, creation of a counterforce could give us something like a Northern Ireland.

The second mode of behavior is to resolve each case on the basis of self-management, that is, to localize it. Of course, there are and there will be situations that are extremely complex, but it is essential to differentiate. And of course, it is essential to solve the problems created by the political past. It is foolish to leave them in such a state because this will constantly heat up the national situation. And here I would like turn to the latest example. The situation in Uzbekistan cannot be viewed merely as interethnic. The situation is a deeply social one. Economists and sociologists have been saying for a long time that there is hidden unemployment in Uzbekistan. At the level of at least 2 million or 3 million people. Now picture the Uzbek village, where on the basis of tradition the women and children work in the fields and there is a large number of men—young men—for whom there is nothing to do. And of course, these men have started to talk about how to change the situation. But it is not easy to find a reason for their own disorders. History has already shown that repeatedly. The conflict arose because in such a situation it could not be otherwise. But I repeat, this is not an interethnic problem but a social problem. And it must be resolved not "by the entire world," as we often hear. The republic itself must resolve it. Either we put down national conflict everywhere using the old methods, reluctant to see the real social process that underlie them, or we make active use of the growing national self-awareness in perestroyka, and effect the transformations on it.

What lies deep in socioeconomic problems can be seen clearly in the example of Russia. Take the Far East, East and West Siberia, the Urals—these are the largest regions in the country. So in the United States similar formations are relatively autonomous. Alaska is a state with its own authorities and its own solutions. Why does our Far East not have its own status, its own rules for its vital activities? There is a certain great-power stereotype. They say that by giving regions independence we shall split a great power asunder. This is an idea of the past. It is necessary to understand that the system cannot operate at such distances, and even less can it operate efficiently. It is absurd when the affairs of the Far East are settled in Moscow by a special office. They should be dealt with at the local level, by local people. And there is no need to fear; each region will have real economic relations with entire country, but they will resolve their own problems themselves with due consideration of all the factors. There will be none of the negative phenomena that we observe now.

[Solomonov] You are talking about the strikes are you not?

[Titma] Yes, I would also like to say something on that subject.

Perhaps some will consider my conclusion harsh, but I believe that if the strikes become a generally accepted political behavior we shall not achieve any economic progress.

And this danger really does exist. Today we are meeting all the demands of the miners. Tomorrow it will be, say, the transport workers, or workers in the chemical industry, or some other powerful and organized sector... In actual practice this situation has been played out hundreds of times, and its essentially unresolvable nature has been proved.

For it is quite clear that we cannot satisfy everyone's demands. To set a real, major force in opposition to society means that because of that force everyone will live even more badly. And this is not just the callous leaders, as the strikers suppose, but also the women and children and the low-income families. In my opinion this must all be explained forcefully to the strikers.

The trade unions could do this in the most convincing way if they really were unions protecting the interests of the workers. But today's trade unions are not masters of the working milieu. And if this is so, in my opinion they should be disbanded and a mechanism should be created that could settle such conflicts. Society should protect itself against the calamity of strikes. This is not the case if someone can shout "strike" and a strike starts.

And there is yet another dangerous aspect to the matter. In strikes, political demands are made. This is impermissible.

[Solomonov] Yes, but I, for example, cannot understand some of the decisions of the latest session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet which notwithstanding proposed different election rights for Estonians and non-Estonians, which has also resulted in conflict in the parliament and strikes. People have seen in these decisions a threat to their civic rights, and, moreover, the legal incongruities are obvious... On the other hand, I agree that strikes are an extreme measure of power pressure. The country's entire economy suffers because of them...

[Titma] Serious thought is needed here. But one thing is obvious and we must grasp it: throughout the world political life is separated from economic life. And if we automatically shift all political problems into the economy we shall always be poor.

[Solomonov] This seems indisputable to me also. But what do you propose?

[Titma] What I have already designated—regional cost accounting.

When the question of Lithuania's and Estonia's transfer to cost accounting was discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, the main argument of its opponents was: why can they do it while for others it is impossible?

A very proper argument. In fact, why cannot Russia do it? It not only can switch to cost accounting, it must! And not only the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic [RSFSR] as a whole but also its individual regions. The introduction of this kind of cost accounting and a switch to the principles of self-regulation is a realistic way out of a critical situation. Both for Russia and for us.

[Solomonov] You are right, although it all seems to me to be a very complicated business. Let us now deal specifically with the role of the party in the interethnic situation that has taken shape.

[Titma] The crisis of trust in the party arose first in the republics and was perceived in Moscow as a purely national phenomenon. That is, it was thought that the party in the republics was unable to control the process of national rebirth, and thus was losing prestige. The elections were the first signal that this loss of prestige is not a national but an all-union problem. Notwithstanding, until recently we tried to interpret the failures of the CPSU as the failures of specific leaders. They said that they did not have the trust of the people, and with this the subject was exhausted. But it has all turned out to be much deeper.

Without a doubt it was the party that initiated perestroyka, and everyone recognizes this. The party has earned the undisputed right to lead the transformation in society. In some fields the CPSU has started to act vigorously: in eliminating the blank spots in history, the democratization of power, the development of glasnost, the holding of elections for the posts of USSR people's deputies.

But the mistake has been that the party itself has assumed the task of dismantling the administrative-command system. We have looked at everything very carefully, except ourselves. And when society's political activeness was increased, and when everything was put into motion, it became clear that the party was moving ahead more slowly than the others.

Now the paramount question is to restore political trust in the party at the local level. And this trust cannot just be presented on a plate.

Today the party stands on the threshold of new tests. What I have in mind is the elections to the local soviets. We should soberly place ourselves in the position of a real political struggle for power. Whether we want it or not the party has serious competition in the form of the various informal public movements, and the CPSU can gain back its authority not by words and slogans and promises but by deeds and radical decisions and action.

I believe that the party should abandon the duplication of state power. We now look as though we are the opposition. We are not exercising control through the communists who work in the organs of soviet power but creating doppelgangers for them in the party apparatus. This may be done when you are an opposition, but when you hold power there is no sense in duplicating existing structures.

Our party organizations exist in production, but today the entire political struggle is taking place on the streets and where people live. We must rethink all our political work and direct all party work to territory. And here, a fundamental question arises for the republic party organizations. When the administrative-command system existed the party organization was part of its structure. But when the republics become truly sovereign, the communist parties will face new problems. The Communist Party must obtain a mandate of trust from the people. It must be its own person. The republic Communist Party and the republic party organization are different things. Today in the republics the following complaint is being made about the Communist parties: you are not pursuing an independent policy but doing everything you are told from the center. Today's political situation is such that only the kind of communist party that has a specific program of action as its own person can obtain that mandate. And if we are not prepared to go to the elections for the local soviets as our own person we shall lose to our rivals, who are actively taking advantage of this defect.

Now, about the political forces existing in Estonia. An independent party that is proposing the idea of secession from the USSR represents part of the indigenous population. The People's Front is made up primarily of Estonians and it does include quite a few communists; I would say that this movement is pursuing a sober policy and is a real force that cannot be ignored. Nor must we disregard the association that Interdvizheniye [Intermovement] is today, an association of strike committees and other organizations made up predominantly of the non-indigenous population.

So the danger is that these essentially different organizations will suddenly start to band together not on ideological grounds but on national grounds. This would immediately lead to retaliatory measures from the other side. And a confrontation in which the two sides are both armed with the strike weapon, the boycott and so forth is extremely dangerous. And all communists in the republic should understand this, regardless of what

nationality they may represent. The consolidation of all democratic forces is the bulwark of perestroyka.

In this sense it is difficult to overestimate the damage done to this consolidation by Tiyt Made's article published in the Swedish press. I fully support the statement issued by the USSR people's deputies for Estonia: this kind of action is aimed at kindling interethnic dissension, something that we should all oppose together.

[Solomonov] We are talking about economic independence, sovereignty, mutual respect... In this connection I would like to offer a quotation: "If we want to elevate our people, then this is possible only by means of guaranteeing for it equality in the world. Equal rights and equal respect—these are the positions that I follow fanatically... I am convinced that true peace among peoples is possible only on this basis. We have no desire to restrict the opportunities in life of any people, we have no desire to suppress, oppress or enslave any people. But the world must stop oppressing us."

Quite well said, is it not? Fair thoughts. And this was said by Adolf Hitler. You will have noticed that Europe has already traveled the path of national rebirth. But Europe has also endured the garbage of nationalism, such as fascism in Germany and Italy... Nothing is unambiguous...

[Titma] Without doubt deviations are possible, even likely. Of course, it is possible to indoctrinate a child by resolving all issues for him. But when there are no parents the child cannot make the correct decisions for himself. Or we can imagine the possibility of self-indoctrination and helping from the sidelines to enable him to reach a correct solution. This is another principle. Then you will make a mature person of this child.

Democratic institutions should protect society against nationalism and fascism. It is necessary to acquire immunity against reactionary manifestations by developing a common culture. And to fight those forces that are socially dangerous, first and foremost using political means. The threat of nationalist or chauvinist passions does exist. What, for example, is neutralizing the ultraright Le Penn in France? Primarily the cultural level of the public and the particular common moral atmosphere in which neo-Nazi ideas are not widely supported.

[Solomonov] Neither should we forget, probably, the economic soil and social causes on which poisonous flowers may grow...

[Titma] Unfortunately, the social atmosphere is promoting the appearance of reactionary sentiments. First, the situation is being exacerbated deliberately by the administrative apparatus, first and foremost by those organs that plan a budget with a deficit. And as high as R100 billion. This deficit is being covered by the printing presses. Hence the devaluation of the ruble, and as a consequence a declining living standard for social strata down to the poverty line. Not pensioners, but social strata! This is the main reason for the social ferment in the country. In the state system the inflation of the ruble is leading to a situation in which the decisions reached are not economic decisions but purely administrative. In the cooperatives, where prices really do react to the weight of the ruble, it leads to price increases. And among the public the illusion is created that the cooperative people are to blame, that trade and industry is to blame... Enemies are quickly found. And often they are foreigners. And the public still has a nostalgia for the time of stagnation. Why? First, everything was understandable then, stable, but now everything is unstable and there is no social protection. Then there was the illusion that the slogans were right and that real policy was wrong. But now many do not believe even the slogans. The social instability is affecting the main thing—the meaning of life, the prospects for life. An emptiness has been created that is ineluctably giving rise to a conservative social attitude.

It so happens that the national idea is the only one with which it is possible to identify. There is no other. In Russia this has not yet happened. But it inevitably will. The reaction of the Russians will be inevitable. And in order to prevent them from moving along a great-power path it is essential to offer a democratic alternative. And very quickly.

In practice the national question is Russia has been usurped by "Pamyat" and similar organizations. There are no healthy alternatives to the reactionary views, and this is the greatest danger for perestroyka. There are few active spokesmen for the ideas of a democratic rebirth of Russian national culture. Some writers are seeking those to blame among the foreigners. But this will lead to no good. Another thing is alarming: we are losing a great deal in the national question when we assume the old stance—time will heal, it says. This is the worst stance—waiting. Already today there should be clear-cut strategic decisions. The events in Georgia happened and we responded with force. Now it has happened in Fergana, and we send in MVD [Interior Ministry] troops. How much is this costing the country? Not only in human lives, but also enormous resources. How can this make sense? For the ideological and sociopsychological consequences of this kind of immediate response are terrible. They suggest the thought that the hand of Moscow is everywhere. And second, we are relieving the local leadership of responsibility and in reality it is unable to handle an internal situation. This all leads inevitably to extremism. It would make more sense to guarantee self-regulation right from the start. Of course, there will be certain deviations, but to make up for that the economic, sociopsychological, and political losses will be less... Let us look at it sensibly; where will Armenia go if it leaves the USSR? To Turkey? Nonsense! Armenia's natural place is in the USSR.

Look at Estonia. Given Estonia's real sovereignty, over the next 20 years it will have no external market except for the USSR. Every sensible Estonian politician will build his work on economic and social interest. And this will unite us all. Because the natural market exists in the

USSR, and only there can we engage in exchange. And the Baltic republics and Central Asia and the Caucasus. But if there is power regulation from the center it will inevitably create centrifugal forces. In this sense self-regulation involves the least danger if that is the policy we pursue.

[Solomonov] We are forced to pursue it. For conflicts involve blood, that is what is so terrible. And they must be settled quickly. How can this be done when words appealing to reason do not work?

[Titma] Of course, when blood is spilt and people die the state must protect those who need protection. And in this sense it is necessary to take the steps that are provided for in all civilized countries. We are talking about something else. The anthropologist Levi Strauss remarked that a theoretician knows one thing about a country and an empiricist knows how the people live, but only the aborigine knows what is really happening. And when we, the politicians, think that we are smarter than the local people and that we can resolve local problems better than they can, this is an illusion.

[Solomonov] Yes, but there are all-union problems.

[Titma] Of course. Let us assume that there are problems for peoples who were previously unlawfully repressed, that there were all kinds of decisions made in past years that were at variance with the constitution, and so forth.

[Solomonov] What can we say; the Stalin era has left is a difficult legacy. Including the theoretical legacy. For essentially even now the Stalinist definition of nation still exists...

[Titma] That is so. But the national situation is always specific and is not easily amenable to theoretical generalization, and if a generalization is made it does not deal with the social lineament of a nation or the special features of historical development.

[Solomonov] I agree. But here, one general feature in the development of our republic is not immediately obvious, namely, the interpenetration of the various nationalities and the intermingling of the indigenous and non-indigenous populations. And when we talk about national rebirth, this catches the attention not only of the indigenous population but also the others. What kind of situation can we expect in such cases?

[Titma] If the nonindigenous population has a respectful and understanding attitude toward the concerns of the indigenous inhabitants of the republic then nothing terrible will happen. On the contrary, the opportunities here for compromise are inexhaustible. Conflicts arise when the non-indigenous population fails to understand the concerns of the Estonians—this tiny nation...

[Solomonov] Quite. But how did it happen that the division into indigenous and nonindigenous populations in the Baltic has become so clear-cut that this has exerted a strong effect even in the Congress of People's Deputies?

[Titma] This division has been strongly promoted by the creation of Interfront as an alternative to the People's Front in each of the three republics. Of course, the People's Front initially blundered: it was essential to recruit to its ranks people of all nationalities, and first and foremost Russians. But Interfront, conceived as a measure in response, alas! exerted a strong influence on the consolidation of national extremism and made the idea of Estonia's secession from the USSR more popular than it was before the creation of Interfront in the republic. It was necessary to seek the agreement of people but not disunite them according to the principle: these are internationalists, but these are, perhaps, nationalists?

[Solomonov] I think that the reasons for the manifestations of the great-power mentality run deeper...

[Titma] We have already said that the nutrient medium is lack of social protection for the individual. Here we should add that we have seriously damaged the natural social formations and that natural social control has been weakened. We have created a certain anonymous kind of society in which the overwhelming majority is made up of people without roots, without natural ties with their own ancestors, with their home and families. The command-administrative system required this. Given the lack of roots and solid social protection, the individual looks for support not only in the national idea but also in the churches, and even in crime. The unclear nature of the relations between the state and the individual provide the nutrient medium for organized crime...

[Solomonov] Let us now turn directly to your work. How do you see the role of the ideologist in this extremely complicated situation?

[Titma] I think that today ideology must be understood as the process of people's attitudes toward specific goals. But we must immediately qualify this: the entire propaganda arsenal of earlier years does not work today. It is discredited. Strange as it may seem, here in the republic we are employing the principle of de-ideologization, that is, we are removing the ideological envelope from the problem and attuning people to solve specific vital tasks. In this sense the ideological atmosphere is to create true self-management in society. People must be made to feel that they are the masters, the real power. To this end, for example, we are creating the uyezds [districts]—elements that unite the village with the rayon. Now we are planning the budget for and the legal status of the village, the uyezd and the rayon. We are providing people with resources. They own the land and everything else. They have real power. This is forcing them to self-organization. Without real power everything is window dressing. We are holding elections and new people are beginning really to manage these territorial elements. So this is the ideological approach that we are in general using throughout the country.

There should be less disputation on the subject of what is socialist and what is not, and rather society should be attuned to practical socialist matters.

The trend of glasnost has arisen here. When people were given an opportunity to speak openly then what I would call the phenomenon of Nikolay Ozerov inevitably arose, that is, "Go-al! Go-al!" Our entire ideology and all of society is attuned to facts and emotional assessments; this kind of social psychology has been formed during 70 years. And now, in the age of glasnost, this mood has been reinforced. American public opinion is built on something absolutely different. It is built on the question: how is this being done? When they do a commentary on a basketball game there the computer immediately "draws" it on the screen, like a strategy for scoring. But our society is still built on assessments—is it good? is it bad?—rather than on how it is being done. And now we must attune the new thinking to show how it is being done so that society can proceed with perestroyka.

I am always astonished when the talk moves to equal opportunities for different forms of ownership in the countryside. But how equal? In a best case the farmer owns the land and nothing else; all assets belong to the kolkhoz or sovkhoz. But world practice over 300 years of capitalism has shown that the only economically sensible organization of primary agricultural production is the farmstead and farm. And this is everywhere, from America to Australia. So perhaps there has been enough argument as to whether it is good or bad? We must show in practice how it is done. And analyze it afterward. And then we can choose the form of farming. But we are still only talking in the abstract: the farm is bad, the kolkhoz is good. We must place the leasehold farmers on an equal footing with the kolkhoz. In the same way we must also provide examples of of the coexistence of different nations, examples of cooperation, friendship, and agreement. Not simply discuss or approve, but demonstrate. And here we must conduct a major reappraisal of the kind we did in foreign policy. On the international plane we have recognized the priority of common human values over class values. Now we must understand that the national element goes deep into history and it will also go just as far into the future.

In my opinion it is incorrect to subordinate the national element to the class antagonism that exists deep down at the level of the bourgeois society. We must understand that the national element is a specific prototype of the common human element, that is, within the national element are concentrated all kinds of cultures and the entire palette of human and common human values. And this basic foundation must be developed by cultivating new democratic values on this soil that has been firmed and tested by the centuries. It can create a basis for stable development in the difficult transition period of modernization of our system. Today we have a great need of stability and people's cultural way of life. Herein lies the antidote for aggressiveness. herein lies the guarantee that people's political activeness will develop in cultural, civilized forms, and that conflicts will be resolved on the basis of compromise. In short, the national element should not be suppressed but included in the context of perestroyka.

But while the administrative syndrome exists it will be extraordinarily difficult to do this.

The bureaucratic functionary typically belittles the role of the national element and exaggerates the role of state thinking. In general, if one looks at the devotee of the administrative-command system he is essentially first and foremost a technocrat. He sees the solution that must be achieved. He sees the way to the solution not through real people living in different ways, each with his own tenor of life, with his specific national features. He sees life as it were on only one plane, not in three dimensions.

[Solomonov] Yes, and culture is perceived by the bureaucrat and functionary in the form of some kind of cheap popular print. In confirmation of the fact that the national element does exist, or, as they liked to say, did in earlier times, and is rapidly burgeoning, it was enough for the functionary to hold all kinds of reviews and festivals with singing and dancing in the popular style, and with expensive costumes... But culture is something more complex, deeper. In addition to folklore, which, of course, should also be preserved, culture increasingly imbibes new things into itself...

[Titma] We rarely consider the fact that no one attribute can in and of itself exhaust the national element as such. Just as no one single attribute of the peasantry can exhaustively describe that phenomenon. Now we must restore the peasantry and put together the parts that have been lost. It is the same with the concept of the national element. More often than not we restrict ourselves to a single attribute, such as self-awareness. But in addition to consciousness there is also life. It is here that the national element is displayed. Not everything born out of a particular nation will become something common to all humankind. Much is born and developed and disappears within the boundaries of just one nation, and there is nothing terrible in this. It is of great advantage when the national element helps to liberate people's creative forces for work for the present and the future of their people.

And internationalism can arise only when we have an attentive attitude toward the national element, and respect it and build rapprochement on the basis of common human values rather than on a purely class basis. Because the class basis is transient. I think that we have passed beyond that stage of development. Now it is national rebirth that has the floor, and is an agent capable of uniting our human aspirations.

Estonian Green Party Formed 10 Aug

LD1408125289 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] Immediately before the start of this program, Mario Kivistik [member of the Council of the Green Movement] arrived in Tallinn from Rapla. A new party has been formed.

[Begin Kivistik recording] Yes, indeed. The constituent meeting of the Estonian Green Party, which was convened for this afternoon, discussed and approved the constitution of the new party and dealt with a few crucial points of Estonian domestic political life. It is hoped that the party will present itself to the public within the next few weeks with specific statements and its own program.

What was it that created the need for founding a new party? Public opinion polls have demonstrated that the Green movement has many supporters in Estonia, and one can be quite certain that it is namely the political aspirations and ambitions of the Greens which appeal to a large section of them. The political activity of the Estonian Green Movement has, however, been decreasing constantly during this year. The main attention has been paid to developing of international links.

In the situation that has evolved, the (?GEP), having been founded, has taken upon itself the task of combining the green (?aims) with political ones, first and foremost with parliamentarian means: In this respect the Green Party and the [words indistinct]. The Green Party will create a (?purely) political area for the members of the (?DRL) and also for those who have up to now been keeping away from it, with the Estonian Green Movement in its turn providing an opportunity for those people who [words indistinct] do not wish to change their party allegiance, or who prefer to be outside any party, a contribution of their own toward the environmental protection movement [words indistinct].

As established in the party's constitution, only those people of Estonia eligible to vote can belong in the party if they do not belong in any other party. Members of the Green Party will be given membership cards and they will take upon themselves the duty of (?paying their fees regularly). This seems uncustomary and perhaps even unacceptable, because until now [words indistinct] only in the constitution of one party. The founders of the Estonian Green Party, however, proceed from the fact that according to the existing Constitution, citizens' voluntary associations—and that includes also [passage indistinct].

The (?constituent meeting) reached the conclusion that in order to solve the problems of Estonia, the statehood of Estonia must be restored, not in some obscure future but (?it must be set) as the next aim. The Estonian Green Party considers first and foremost the organizing of democratic parliamentary elections in Estonia to be the precondition for restoring its own statehood, with the participation in the elections of candidates who are independent, as well as those representing political parties and fractions, or those proceeding from their platforms. [passage indistinct]

[Words indistinct], the Estonian Green Party considers compromises—proceeding from any kind of deliberations—inadmissible with the Inter-Movement and other chauvinist- conservative groups which only exacerbate the sociopolitical crisis in Estonia. [passage indistinct]

Latvia Outlaws 'Citizens' Committees'

PM1108145789 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 15 Jul 89 p 1

["Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on Activity to Form Citizens' Committees"—SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA headline]

[Text] The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that activity is under way in the republic to form so-called citizens' committees. This process is holding back the work that has been started to give legal backing to the policy of perestroyka and is not being properly assessed by local organs of state power.

The Latvian National Independence Movement, the Helsinki-86 Group and its Riga branch, the Environmental Protection Club, and the radical association of the Latvian People's Front have taken on the task of organizing these citizens' committees.

The "temporary communications center" that has been set up has drafted and is now distributing in the territory of the Latvian SSR an "Appeal to the Population of Latvia" and a statute on Latvian citizens' committees and their structure and aims. These citizens' committees are organizing the so-called registration of citizens of the Latvian republic. Only those people who were citizens of the Latvian republic on 17 June 1940 and their descendants are recognized as such. At the same time, work is being done to form a system of citizens' committees and hold a congress of Latvian citizens with the aim of reviewing the political status of the Latvian SSR.

All this runs counter to the existing Latvian SSR Constitution, and the citizens' committees are essentially arrogating the functions of state organs and directing their practical activity toward supplanting constitutional organs of power.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To deem the formation and activity of citizens' committees to be illegal and contrary to the basic provisions of the Latvian SSR Constitution and current legislation.

2. Local soviets of people's deputies and state and social organizations in the republic must refrain from giving assistance to citizens' committees (the provision of premises, material and technical supply, and so forth).

3. When covering the activity of the republic's representative organs to revive the Latvian SSR's state sovereignty, the mass media must show the unconstitutional nature of the citizens' committees and the possible consequences of their functioning.

4. To explain that the registration of persons, the compiling of lists, and other activity by citizens' committees will not entail legal consequences.

5. To tell the leadership of organizations involved in the formation of citizens' committees to review the question of the advisability of such committees' existence.

6. To instruct the executive committees of rayon (city) soviets of people's deputies to ensure compliance with this resolution and conduct explanatory work among the population.

The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet commission to study and assess activity to form citizens' committees is to inform the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in August 1989 on progress in implementing this resolution. [Signed] A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
V. Klibik, secretary of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Latvian Party Concludes 'First Stage' of Plenum

LD1408173189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In Riga, the first stage of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum—the main item on the agenda of which is the social and political processes in the republic and the program of action of the Latvian Communist Party—has ended its work. [video shows plenum in progress, showing audience and a speaker at the rostrum; seated at the latter's right hand is I. Ya. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee]

[I. Vinnik, identified by caption] This is the first time that a plenum has been held according to such unusual standing orders. For the first 2 days, members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and also scientists, party, soviet, and economic workers and representatives of informal movements invited to take part in the plenum's work discussed four options for the Latvian Communist Party program of action proposed by various party organizations of the republic and the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

A break has now been called in the work of the plenum, during which a representative commission, to which 58 communists have been elected, will elaborate a final document of the plenum which has received the title: The Extraordinary Tasks of the Latvian Communist Party. [video shows plenum participants applauding, I. Ya. Kezbers facing camera and holding microphone in vestibule interview]

[Begin Kezbers recording] This is a program that should introduce a new stream, a qualitatively new approach to the resolution of those tasks confronting the party under conditions when we are getting ready to switch to the economic independence of our republic. I would also like to answer a question we are frequently asked. Are the processes in the Baltic region different from those processes under way throughout the country? In principle, no. There are certain nuances for which we are answerable, and which should have the close attention of our communists. These are, in the first instance, the switch to a financially autonomous republic and the shaping of constitutional norms which really would ensure this economic independence. [end recording]

Reportage Highlights Kuzbass Situation

PM2408115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1, 3

[Reportage by special correspondents Vladimir Loktev and Aleksandr Skrypnik under the rubric "This Concerns Us All: Kuzbass Today": "August Merges With July"]

[Text] Kuzbass, August—Anyone with any education at all is familiar with Mikhail Lomonosov's remark about the growth of Russia's wealth, which has become a byword. Way back in the middle of the 18th century, Russia's great son wisely predicted the purpose to which Siberia's mineral wealth would be put. His predictions have come true: For many years, largely thanks to Siberia, the life and work of our society was assured. The wealth of the state grew, yet those who ensured this growth through their hard work in pits, open-cut mines, and metallurgical and chemical combines were left out in the cold....

Now, in August, 1 month after the Kuzbass miners' July strike, questions are arising with a particular urgency: How did we reach this point? What made the people's cup of patience overflow?

It's Not All That Simple

For decades Kuzbass workers were told: It is your job to produce coal and metal, we will provide you with everything else. And provided they were, sometimes better and sometimes less well.

"In the early seventies life was good here. There were times when there were up to 18 kinds of sausage in the stores. Even Muscovites were astounded," pensioner I. Stepurin, a native of Kemerovo, now retired, told us not without pride. "Today the food situation is complex, and as for sausage—there can be no mention of it...."

As to the level of industrialization Kemerovo Oblast is probably second to none in the Russian Federation, and as to the volume of industrial output it ranks among the first five oblasts in the republic. Yet concerning the solution of social, consumer, and housing questions it probably occupies the last place.

The preamble to the protocol of measures agreed between the Kuzbass regional strike committee and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] commission states frankly that as a result of persistent lagging in the development of the social sphere, the socioeconomic situation in the Kuzbass has deteriorated. This is a consequence of ministry and

department diktat and arbitrariness, local party and soviet organs's connivance, and a deterioration in the supply of food and essential goods to the population.

That is correct. But was this the only reason for the strike? It is true that ministries, departments, and the oblast and city leadership have spared little thought for the people (they are very patient around here), and have failed to resolve soluble problems or to display sufficient persistence in tackling them. That is one side of the story. The other side of the story is that several party and government resolutions have been adopted on the Kuzbass in recent years. They contain essentially the same questions which are now incorporated in the 35 points of the aforementioned protocol. Yet the result was that not one of these documents was implemented. Who is to blame?

Today everyone is asking themselves: Would it have been possible to avert the miners' strike? It is difficult to answer this question unequivocally and without hesitation. We believe that the probability of a strike could have been minimized. After all, for the uninitiated, the miners' action was a bolt from the blue. But people in Moscow, not to mention the local authorities, knew about the miners' dissatisfaction. The first "alarm signals" rang out early this year—short stoppages at a number of pits. No conclusions were drawn from this. What is more, the oblast party committee [obkom] hastened to adopt a resolution on the incompatibility of being a Communist and taking part in a strike. The July events proved convincingly that this decision was ill founded.

"Although I am a Communist, I am also the leader of a strike committee," N. Litvinenko from the "Novaya" mine in Belovo said at a recent plenum of the obkom. "Furthermore I am also a party organization secretary. I was not intimidated by the aforementioned resolution, and here is why: The party is made up of the people and it serves the people. Why should I go against the people? Take a look at our demands. Is there anything in them that goes against the people, that does not serve man? Is there anything in them that is directed against the CPSU? I carry my party card with pride...."

I recall a parable recounted by Aleksandr Galyamov, Kuznetsk metallurgical combine rail and girder shop party bureau secretary:

"When a storm breaks, a skillful herdsman leaps onto his horse and rides in front of the herd leading it on. A bad herdsman grabs his horse by the tail in an effort to hold it back.

"This is what we should do, we should follow the people's lead," Nikolay Shidlovskiy, assistant secretary of the Kuznetsk metallurgical combine party committee, added.

Many people now believe that had local and all-union radio and television reported promptly that compliance with the demands of the Mezhdurechensk miners was being extended to the whole of the oblast and even the entire sector, the strike would not have taken on such a scale.

It is difficult to disagree. All the more so since at the beginning the miners had put forward only three demands, which could have been resolved locally. They turned to a higher authority and again they came up against a brick wall....

The Square

The main square in Kemerovo in front of the party obkom with the traditional Lenin statue in granite, arm pointing upward, and the flag fluttering above the soviet executive committee [ispolkom] is shrouded in silence again after the stormy events (it is difficult to picture now how it all was, the sea of miners' helmets and thousands of angry, beseeching eyes, the voices of the people who had come to the square straight from the coal face to utter, for the first time, words about the poverty and misery of life). But from one of the rooms in the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] building, where quiet reigns again, comes the constant throb of the bustle of everyday life. On the door there is a large sign: "Strike Committee." The sign is obsolete. These committees are now called workers committees.

Our information. In the 11 Kuzbass cities where the strikes took place, 339 people were appointed to the strike committees; 82 percent of them were workers.

Of the members of strike committees, 38.3 percent were Communists, the average age of strike committee members was 37; they included 4 primary party organization secretaries, 3 trade union committee chairmen, and 8 workers collective council chairmen. ("Our information" ends)

At the oblast workers committee we ran into a misunderstanding straight away. T. Avaliani, the committee chairman and a USSR people's deputy, was in Moscow. We met his deputies. One of them said:

"We can give you only 7 minutes."

Yuriy Rudolf, a thick-set, strong miner was more accommodating:

"We could stretch it to 15...."

"But that is unrealistic! It is impossible to have a thorough discussion in that time...."

"As you like. But we are in a hurry."

Let's not be bureaucrats: People have work to do!

At the city workers committee it was simpler. The doors were not shut. Chairman Yevsyukov was not there. Two people were sitting in his office. Sergey Nikishov, a smiling drift miner with large hands, and Mikhail Shakirov.

Nikishov explained:

"Shakirov here is in charge of information and I am the finance minister, so to speak."

"So there is an executive committee and a financial department. What is this, a diarchy?"

Nikishov wiped his wet forehead (the sun was beating down on his back and he could not get away from the telephone):

"Well, in a manner of speaking...."

People are pouring in as if to confession. A veteran came in in full regalia, seeking the truth. Then an old woman came and tipped a pile of small, speckled apples on the table in front of the stunned Nikishov:

"Take them, they are ours, Kemerovo apples...."

"What are you up to, old woman?"

"Take them, take them."

We asked:

"Have you done anything to help her?"

"Well, no, we listen to people and so they come to us."

Someone else came in. Driver Anatoliy Kraskov.

"I need a loan to build a summerhouse. I was told at the bank that I need a stamp from you."

Nikishov's eyes pop out.

"The only documents we have are people's control committee membership cards."

"This is the 3d day they have been giving me the run-around...."

Nikishov says to Shakirov:

"Misha, call the bank."

We cannot get talking, people are coming and going, the telephone never stops ringing.

"Oh, oh, oh, it's simply awful how many people are coming. They are coming because we listen to them. But what can we do for them?"—he points to a pile of papers; every consultation is recorded. "Take lathe-operator Matkalykov from the machine-building plant, for instance. He has a wife and two children. They live in a privately owned appartment and the landlord has given them notice. I called the plant director. 'Let him come. I will see him,' he said."

"But can he help?"

"How? There are probably several hundred people at the plant in the same position as the lathe-operator."

"Together with the gorispolkom we have set up a commission for housing matters. Mikhaylov, the ispolkom chairman, is well liked."

"But how can he help if more than 50 percent of people require housing?"

Yevsyukov arrives, an energetic man with blue eyes. He is returning from a tour of the mines: A commission for the distribution of the additional funds allocated to the Kuzbass is deciding how to distribute everything.

The conversation turns to this.

"Miners must be given priority."

"What is wrong with the others?"

"I think that children and the disabled should come first."

"What does a child need a sewing machine for? Incidentally, what are 215 sewing machines for a city like this?"

"It is necessary to distribute everything in accordance with social justice."

"I have worked out that everyone is entitled to 1 and ½ cans of evaporated milk."

"There will be a scrimmage...."

"And then? What next?"

It is decided that everything should be divided equally. For the sake of fairness.

We would like to note especially that the miners, and other workers, too, understand perfectly well that it is impossible to instantly provide the oblast with essential goods. After all, they are well aware that in order to give to them, it is necessary to take away from others. But where from?

The Way We Live

As you speed through the Kuzbass toward the south, you drive past woods, fields of winter crops, and birch tree copses, and your heart misses a beat at the sight of all this beauty, yet the same heart starts bleeding, sinks, and rolls down the dusty road, when, on entering Novokuznetsk you breathe in the air in the "Valley of Death" where the ferro-alloy, aluminum, and "Santekhlit" plants are concentrated, were dilapidated huts are huddled close to the ground between the slag heaps piled high with churned up earth and waste matter, and where the wooden barracks of the thirties, wind-swept, sun-scorched, and darkened with age and rain, bear on the pediment the inscription in white paint: "Welcome to the Stone Age."

Our information. Against the backdrop of the ecological problems prevalent in most of the cities of the Kuzbass, many problems experienced elsewhere pale into insignificance. Take for instance the Kemerovo ecological cluster where the chemical enterprises "Karbolit," "Koksokhim," "Khimprom," and "Azot" are concentrated, the latter with its "fox's tail" with which the whole city is familiar—a chimney stack belching poisonous yellow smoke.

Because of unfavorable conditions, including ecological conditions, around 1 million people have moved away from the oblast over the past 7 years.

The state of health of the inhabitants of the Kuzbass is critical: Fifty percent of the working people suffer from chronic diseases (the figure for the union as a whole is approximately 8 percent).

Some 87 percent of babies born in the oblast have mental or physical abnormalities. The incidence of cancer is 10 to 15 times higher than the union average.

As a result of the water crisis the further development of Kemerovo, Prokopyevsk, Kiselevsk, and Yurga is in question. The flora and fauna balance has been fundamentally disrupted. ("Our information" ends)

...We met the old man on our way to Mezhdurechensk. We got talking about life.

Well, one lives. I have been out to get bread. (He carried a bag resembling an Army knapsack.) They call me Afanasiy. Surname Budkevich, from Bezrukovo village. What can I say? I fought in the war. Then I worked as a driver at the local state regional electric power station [GRES]. Now I am retired, you might say....

He lit a cigarette and became thoughtful, stroking his beard. Then he pointed to the smoke coming from the enrichment factory:

"They have killed everything. Who? The people, the government? Who can tell? But they destroyed everything. All of them together. It is a shame. What should be done now? Who knows? My wife and I had seven children. They have all gone away, you can't tell people how and where they should live. But should I get ill, God forbid, they will all come flying back. That is what we should do here, too. We should all get together, and together work out and decide how we should live. Only people die, land does not die. All that is needed is for all of us to get together."

There are other opinions, too.

We visited the house of an old miner in the settlement at "Severnaya" mine. We walked around and looked at the run-down, neglected settlement which still showed traces of the good life before the war with which we are all painfully familiar from pretentious films about miners. When we stepped out onto the porch the old woman, the miner's wife, looked toward the cooperative saloon which had been erected on a vacant plot of land and which bore what was for these people the unusual sign "Grill Bar," and said:

"That is sabotage, in my opinion...."

We talk too much. We talk far too much. We prostrate ourselves in front of great economic experts (they will save us, they will tell us which way to go). But life as it is has arranged everything quite simply in this world: What is needed are not words, no matter how clever, but common sense, that selfsame common sense which has always been our people's strength. There is an unquenched thirst for justice. There is also a certain amount of bitterness. We must not be afraid of this word as we used to be afraid of the word "poverty" before. Yes, there is bitterness felt by the "grassroots" toward the "upper echelons"...

The Mine

On Sunday we set off for the "Severnaya" mine. That was where the strike started in the oblast center. A 20 minute drive to the administrative building. We were met by director Troshkov himself. A slim, elegant man of around 50.

"I have stopped counting the time," Gennadiy Ivanovich said, "I work as long as is necessary...."

He has been at the mine for 33 years. He came when he was 18 and by 21 he was already leader of a drift miners' team (miners will appreciate the outstanding achievement of holding a post like that at that age), and he completed his higher education by correspondence.

The mine is the oldest mine in operation in the city. In January it marked its 50th anniversary.

Troshkov appeared to us to be a firm, resolute man, a real professional. Such people are not easy to get along with. He told us what had been done to improve miners' housing conditions and what was planned for the future:

"Relations with the workers committee are complex, however we must work together and maintain contact. Why are there problems? I do not want to engage in committee members' character assessments, lest some people end up thinking that I am prejudiced against them. Essentially there is a triarchy at the mine at the moment: There is the management and the party committee, the labor collective council, and the workers committee."

"What view do Communists think of this?"

"All sorts of views. After all, we now have a pluralism of opinions. For instance, one of our activists has surrendered his party card. He had been elected chairman of the trade union committee. Yet a few days later he came to the party committee to ask advice about how to cope with his job. What is this, lack of principledness, or something else?"

We said goodbye and moved on to another drift. At first we got a hostile reception. You Muscovites are alright. You have no idea about rationing. We told them that coupons have been introduced in Moscow, too, for sugar, for instance. They did not believe us.

The drift miners here were all tough guys, this was reflected in their conversation. they had acquired the habit of speaking their mind, saying whatever they wanted. For instance:

"So Ryzhkov came here in February, wrung his hands, and issued instructions to ministers. Before everyone's eyes. Then he departed, and what has changed?"

"And Gorbachev?"

"Leave Ryzhkov and Gorbachev out of it. I would like to see you in their place," a bearded drift miner joins the conversation.

"I have a job."

"Then shut your trap. What was I going to say?" Sergey Kozhykhov, leader of a drift miners' team at the "Severnaya" mine, a robust, strong man, who had come out of work in a bad mood, asked us to drop him off at home on our way.

Stepan Teplyakov, a fitter (now in retirement, but still working as an elevator operator) refuses to be sidetracked:

"Why are you all talking about work all the time? We should be talking about the good life. Why did the strike happen? Because we had come to the end of our tether. Not without help from 'above,' of course. What did the miner have in the past? He had his booze. But he did deliver the coal. Then, suddenly, the supply was cut off.... It is not a question of vodka, of course. Vodka is just by the by. When the strike was on, it was our guys who put the curbs on the rowdies. Vodka is not the issue. The problem is that our own Soviet authorities have forgotten about people. They did not forget about themselves, but they forgot about us. Hence those villas, or whatever you like to call them. Meanwhile we are having to muddle through as we have always done. They are saying that things will improve now. All kind of cooperatives have cropped up. If you ask me, they are the new exploiters of the working class. It will take another revolution to get rid of them."

...The debate goes on and on.

"There are too many bosses. We should get rid of them!"

"Well, someone has to be in charge."

"What is needed are good managers. In general, people who are willing to do the job."

"And if they are unable?"

"We must find suitable people. Look how many people have come forward lately."

"Well, all kinds of people. In those selfsame workers committees."

A man who is sitting nearby says:

"It is not easy with the bosses, nonetheless. Getting an interview with the mine director is a problem."

"Say nothing about the director," says Ryazanov, an old miner. His father started work here, he himself has labored here all his life, he is retired now, but he is among his mates. "Troshkov is looking after us."

"They have faced everything with marble. Even the canteen."

"But you eat in that canteen. Would you rather eat in a pig sty?"

"They would have done better to build a few more houses."

"Well say so, then."

"Who unsealed our lips? It was only the strike."

"The strike, the strike. When we walked out, the gorkom first secretary was beating his chest: 'Guys, I am one of you, I am on your side.'" He was the first to put the gorkom building at our disposal."

"He offered it to us."

Prokopyevsk, sunk in a valley surrounded by woods, criss-crossed by little streets drowning in mud, has quietened down now. Passions have subsided (for the moment). Demands have been drawn up and submitted to the government, and, according to what we were told at the city workers committee, their implementation is proceeding point by point (so far). As for the future....

But let us return to how people live and what is in store for them in the future.

A wooden barracks. Next to it are several more of the same kind. A thin miner on whom life has taken its toll.

"I took part in the strike even though I was ill. I went along with the others. There are two rooms here. No, they are not mine. I live with my brother-in-law. I have been on the waiting list since 1971. Where do I rank? No 22. No, I am lying, as from today No 21."

"Is that where you have gotten since 1971?"

"No, I made a mistake, since 1970."

"What is going to happen now? Has anything changed, now that there has been a strike....

"What can one say: Something has been set in motion, as it were." (We are now talking to mine workers Vladimir Meleshin and Anatoliy Arykov at the workers committee of which they are members).

Arykov shows us his mandate No 22, the print on the reverse side reads:

1. Authorized to conduct negotiations with officials of all levels;

2. In charge of monitoring the implementation of demands put forward during the strike.

He answers without enthusiasm:

"Life is hard. We are swamped with visitors. As soon as we see one lot off, the next group comes in. It is necessary to explain things to them, to give them help.

Meleshin adds:

"Right. It is necessary to help them. But how? We have already put an announcement in the newspaper: Comrades, this is what you have to do. We have explained who is in charge of what, so that people can address themselves to the appropriate authorities....

Three women enter with bags and baggage. Meleshin immediately forgets about us.

"Sit down, ladies, how can we help...."

So where are the appropriate authorities?

"Correspondents" and Journalists

In an emergency situation—and this is what the situation was in the oblast during the days of the strike—it is difficult to overestimate the role of the mass media. On the whole, the party obkom plenum noted, the local press provided prompt coverage of the strike and life in the oblast. A press center was set up at the CPSU obkom. The oblast radio and television broadcast special news bulletins several times a day, using direct relays. However, as is often the case, it did not manage without vexing mistakes and biased conclusions which irritated people.

Looking through the local press for those 10 days in July one cannot fail to notice that the strike and the events connected with it were the number one topic. That is quite natural, because no matter how terrible, alarming, and even painful, it was nonetheless a sensation. Our journalistic fraternity has finally plucked up courage to supply people with material that "grabs" their attention, and it has even acquired considerable expertise at this. However, on the other hand, chemical, metal, and construction industry and transport workers were working without stoppages and there is precious little information about them in the newspapers because the journalist's beady eye did not focus on them.

Repeatedly in conversation with party and economic leaders we also got to hear overt dissatisfaction with the critical mood of the press. We admit that there is such a bias.

There were even people who regarded the press as all but the main instigator of social tension and accused it of all kind of "intrigues." But it is not the journalists' fault that railroad cars are not unloaded on time and that the supply to stores of goods available at trade depots is subject to disruptions.

You can imagine how miners who, let's be frank, are not spoiled by a surplus of food, react to this kind of information.

Since we are talking about the press, let us also mention the exceptional attention paid to the July events by foreign correspondents. During the strikes several dozen U.S. and West European journalists visited the mining towns in the Kuzbass. As far as we know, they enjoyed complete freedom in gathering information. But local party leaders expressed puzzlement at the foreigners' refusal "to follow a set program." How is it possible, they said: "They are foreigners and they are traveling without supervision? It is somehow strange. In the past this would have been impossible."

...One "American" journalist clearly failed. A certain Romas Dobrukas, claiming to be an NBC correspondent, urged miners to establish contact with "Sajudis." At the Prokopyevsk strike committee the "journalist" was politely reminded that this was a purely economic strike and was told to leave the city.

Yefim Ostrovskiy, a young "correspondent" from Moscow, also displayed hyperactivity among the strikers. He tried to disseminate the "program of the new socialist party of Russia" (we had never heard of it before), and was calling on miners "to fight to the end." The workers did not like his behavior and he was chased away from the rally.

Incidentally, people in the mining towns are very trusting and open. During our whole trip around the oblast we had to show our press card only once, at the entrance to the party obkom.

The Powers That Be

The powers that be are in a difficult position in the Kuzbass today. Life is inordinately hard. They are being rebuked from "above," including from Moscow: "How could you overlook what was happening." But we had warned them not just once, twice, or even ten times that the situation was bad. Don't worry, they replied, it is no better elsewhere—in Armenia, or Azerbaijan, or the Baltic republics.... What can we do? You are the working class, you'll have to grin and bear it. But how much can one suffer? Finally the cup overflowed.

Aleksandr Georgiyevich Melnikov, first secretary of the Kemerovo party obkom, has a pale, pinched face: It reflects the sleepless nights he spent in July and during preparations for the obkom plenum and the strain of his trip to Moscow, from which he has just returned. There is no denying he has a heavy burden to bear. The oblast is neglected and he is the fourth obkom first secretary here in the Kuzbass in the past few years. He is tormented by what is happening in the region, he understands everything and is trying to do something, to help. Despite his long experience of party work, Melnikov found himself in this kind of situation for the first time. To begin with (and this was quite natural in view of our party norms) it was decided that participation in strikes is incompatible with party membership. No less. It was not his, Melnikov's, decision. It came from "higher up." He himself thought differently. But rules (party rules) are rules, even if life is quite different.

What was the upshot? Reprimands were handed out to those who "supported the strike." And then? What came then?

...We walked around the city. We made a point of going into stores. There are not many goods on the shelves, just

like elsewhere. True, the situation as regards dairy products is somewhat better. In Kemerovo that is, which is after all the oblast center. Fruit and vegetables are on sale everywhere in the streets. But as for meat, it is scarce. True, there is meat in the markets. We walked up to an old woman and asked the price. She wanted R8 for a chicken weighing perhaps 2 kg....

The market is the market. In Novokuznetsk and Mezhdurechensk we were told that the local ispolkoms had decided to introduce a "ceiling" on market prices. It is difficult to say how effective this measure has been, but it is obvious that the city authorities are giving this some thought.

What else is worrying people today? A rather complex situation concerning the crime rate in the oblast: People are talking about it, the local authorities are alarmed by it.

There are many problems. Uppermost are housing, the supply of medicines, and the shortage of sociocultural facilities. We will not enumerate them all, they are contained in the protocol of measures agreed between the Kuzbass regional strike committee and the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU commission. Today the number one task is the efficient and prompt implementation of this document.

Not By Coal Alone

Mezhdurechensk would be a beautiful place but for the grey slag heap which is creeping down the valley, getting closer and closer to the city. And if only that were all!

There is also the dilapidated housing, the working conditions (though these are better than in old Prokopyevsk) and the desolation of the miners' settlement where the shelves in the stores are empty, and the coal at the coal face is hard as rock, and when you come out of the mine as black as Satan, there is only a thin sliver of soap left. And the worst thing is the terrible feeling of total isolation from the rest of the world: You are somewhere far away, deep down a mine, digging coal, the country needs it, the country gets it, and that is where it all ends. But people have homes and families, and they have souls, too...

It was probably along these lines that Valeriy Kokorin was thinking (we will not enter into details) when he raised the question of a strike at the mine named for Shevyakov.

When we first heard about the strike, probably everyone was taken aback: Who, what, why, how do they dare, who organized it, how is it possible at all? And, deep down: Is an "enemy hand" at play here perhaps?

Valeriy Kokorin is a tall man with long arms, a loud voice, and intelligent, piercing eyes:

"You want to know about me personally? I have three children. Reasonable housing. No dacha, no car, it is true. But what about the others? Things are very bad for others!

...Here we interrupt the tale of how it all started and what actually happened. It was all reported in the newspapers and on television.

"So you set things in motion. But what is going to happen next?"

"What is going to happen? Comrade Cherepov and I will decide together what is going to happen.

Comrade Cherepov, gorkom first secretary, is a man with a sad face. On the third day he was given a severe reprimand at the obkom bureau session because of the strike. He joins the conversation:

"All our hopes are pinned on what has been promised in the demands that have been put forward—the transition to autonomy."

Kokorin interrupts Cherepov:

"Let me put it more simply, in miners' fashion: We must be able to dispose of everything we earn. For instance, there is no refrigerator store in the city. Kemerovo offers us meat but there is nowhere to store it. The Japanese are asking for 200,000 tonnes of our hard coal. They would supply refrigerators in exchange...."

Suddenly he interrupts himself:

"Am I getting carried away? Or am I right? What do you say, guys?"

The guys, members of the workers committee—mine party organizer Akushakov and miner Shikharev—spoke up:

"You are quite right, carry on."

"We will then be answerable for what we do. The buck will stop here. As for the reprimand which our first secretary has received," Kokorin glances in Cherepov's direction, "we will have to see about that. We will stand up for him. He is one of us, a miner. He received a hero's award at the coal face...."

They are currently getting a team together here to be dispatched to Moscow to look for people who would help them to organize work in the new fashion. The team includes people from the rayon party committee and the ispolkom. True, they are not miners, but they are the same people, they have understood and shared their pain. We have met and talked for a long time with such people, who have shared their pain and supported their demands at the Kuznetsk metallurgical combine. Was it not because common sense and sobriety have won the upper hand here, rejecting the simple "Down with everyone and everything," that the "Raspadskaya" mine continued to supply coal to metallurgical workers without interruption even during the difficult days of the strike.

We have sought to avoid categorical views and conclusions because we are well aware that every careless, thoughtless word is tantamount to pouring oil into the smoldering fire of social tension. Nonetheless, what have we gained from our numerous encounters with the

people of the Kuzbass who have been subjected to so many trials and tribulations?

First. We have formed a generalized social picture of the workers (miners and metal workers): They are people who know they have a case, they are confident of their strength, they know their own worth, and are able to stand up for their rights and their place in society.

Second. We must not set workers and the local authorities—city party, soviet, and economic leaders—against each other. Among the latter there are many excellent specialists, honest and principled people. And if some of them cannot adjust to the new rhythm of life, the workers themselves will, without prompting from outside, be able to draw the correct conclusions in respect of such leaders. The party itself stands to gain from this.

And third. Leaders at all levels must realize as quickly as possible that most of what we have, what we stand on, and for what we live has been created by the hands of the working class. It is true that the obsolete economic mechanism has so far been unable to gather a steady momentum. It will not do so unless we focus on the concerns and day-to-day needs of those who construct, who extract oil and coal, smelt steel, and grow grain—those whose name—worker—should resound with pride throughout our country. Otherwise we are not likely to succeed.

Kemerovo Obkom Examines Strike Aftermath

LD0908120789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Kemerovo, 9 August (TASS)—A plenum of the Kemerovo Party Oblast Committee [obkom] has been held. It discussed the tasks of the party organizations in stabilizing the political and socioeconomic situation in the Kuzbass, and the fulfillment of the decisions of the government commission which were adopted after the July strike by the miners.

The report by Kemerovo Obkom First Secretary Aleksandr Melnikov, and the speeches noted that despite the halting of the strikes and the renewal of work at the enterprises the situation remains complex. The mistakes committed earlier in the work of the ministries and departments, and of the local party, soviet, trades union, and economic bodies in defending the legitimate rights and interest of the workers, and also the passivity of a part of the party and economic and ideological aktiv are still having an effect. In the opinion of the Communists, one of the main guarantees of the normalization of the situation is the strict fulfillment, before it is too late, of the protocol of measures agreed between the regional strike committee and the government commission.

The plenum demanded that the obkom bureau, city committees, and rayon committees of the CPSU, and the Communists heading the executive committees of people's deputies, and those who are economic managers should fulfill the housing program that was outlined, increase food production, and reduce the shortage of consumer goods.

Those taking part in the plenum supported the proposal by a group of USSR people's deputies on suspending the strikes until the USSR law "On Procedures for Solving Collective Labor Disputes" is adopted and comes into force, and they considered it essential to discuss this proposal at party meetings and in work forces. The participation of Communists in the strike was deemed to be justified.

Russian Federation Draft Election Laws Viewed

PM1408134889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Dolganov article: "Elections Will Be Held in a New Way"]

[Text] Drafts of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Law on Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Constitution (Fundamental Law), the RSFSR Law on Elections of RSFSR People's Deputies, and the RSFSR Law on Elections of People's Deputies to Local Soviets of RSFSR People's Deputies have been published and submitted for discussion by the people.

The discussion of these important documents, which provide for a reform of the electoral system in the republic, will continue until 25 September this year. Voters have to name 1,068 deputies in the course of the elections. Of these, 900 will be elected from territorial electoral okrugs, and 168 from national territorial electoral okrugs. Each autonomous republic has 4 deputies' seats, each autonomous oblast 2, all the autonomous okrugs will elect 1 deputy each, and another 84 elected representatives of the people are to be delegated from krays, oblasts (excluding autonomous formations), and the cities of Moscow and Leningrad.

By analogy with the new union legislation, in the RSFSR it is proposed to create a supreme organ of state power that did not previously exist—a Congress of People's Deputies. Out of the two chambers, equal in rights and in numbers—the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities—it is proposed to form a republic Supreme Soviet at the congress. The composition of the two chambers will be renewed annually according to a norm set by the congress.

The draft Russian Federation laws take account of the experience of the all-union election campaign and the opinions and proposals put forward by USSR people's deputies at the congress and in the course of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It is proposed to make suffrage genuinely direct. In particular, social organizations, it is envisaged in the draft law, will not hold independent elections—they will retain the possibility of nominating their own candidate deputies. It is proposed that the right to nominate candidates will also be granted, in addition to the social organizations and

labor collectives, to neighborhood meetings of voters and meetings of servicemen at military units, and to collectives of pupils and students at day secondary specialized and higher educational establishments located in the territory of the electoral okrug.

Many disputes were and still are being provoked by the okrug election meetings stipulated by union legislation. In the RSFSR republican draft law provision is made for such meetings only in the event that more than 10 candidate people's deputies are registered in an electoral okrug. Article 33, on the principles for organizing such meetings, is comparatively clearly formulated. In particular, the following condition is noteworthy: The number of representatives at an okrug meeting must be the same for each deputy. This innovation, which differs from the union system, might exclude the dubious practice of nominating one and the same candidate deputy from several dozen organizations, enterprises, and institutions at once.

In light of the experience of the elections of USSR people's deputies and the opinions of the broad public, many other procedural points have also been reconsidered. I think the voters will probably be interested in the provision on repeat elections. If none of the candidates formerly running has collected the necessary number of votes in the course of the general elections in a given okrug, then none of them may run again as a candidate RSFSR people's deputy.

There are also other differences from union legislation and the electoral laws of other republics. Let us note that all three new draft laws considerably extend the rights of the territories—autonomous republics, okrugs, krays, oblasts, and local soviets.

All three drafts will probably cause many arguments and debates. What amendments, clarifications, and alterations are made will be decided by the voters themselves, whose proposals will be submitted to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium once every 10 days from the time of publication. They will be examined and submitted to the Presidium by the republic Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commission. The forms of discussion could be very diverse—from a speech at a meeting to a direct appeal to the republic's highest organs of power.

Vorkuta Miners Comment on Government Resolution

PM0908113589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Viktor Filippov report under the rubric "Direct Line": "What the Miners Say"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA already informed its readers that all of the "Vorkutaugol" Association's mines resumed work on the night of 6 August. The editorial office received the following report by our correspondent Viktor Filippov and Aleksandr Tretyakov, chief of department at the Vorkuta newspaper ZAPOLYARYE:

The conflict came to an end following the return from Moscow of A. Tsurupa, the association's director for economic matters, who brought back the full text of the USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

"The majority of miners have faith in the resolution," we were told by V. Yakovlev, deputy chairman of the city workers' strike committee and foreman at the "Komsomolskaya" mine. "However, everything will depend on the implementation of our demands."

"The resolution applies to all miners in the country," V. Kopasov, machine operator at "Tsentralnaya" mine, joined the conversation. "This is why the common cause would be promoted by pooling the actions of strike committees in the Kuzbass, Donetsk, and other coalfields."

The city workers' strike committee decided to maintain the prestrike status until 1 January 1990.

Chelyabinsk Obkom Leader's Resignation Eyed

PM1608084189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Cherepanov report: "In the Alienation Zone. Why the Party Obkom First Secretary Resigned"]

[Text] ***Chelyabinsk—As already reported, a plenum of the CPSU Oblast Committee [Obkom] was held in Chelyabinsk and relieved N. Shvyrev of his duties as first secretary at his own request. It cannot be said that this took many people here by surprise. But the traditional formulation "in connection with his transfer to other work" is hardly likely to mislead anyone. People nowadays directly associate any difficulties and breakdowns in the economy or the social sphere with the inability of party committees and their leaders to energetically pursue perestroyka.***

And the oblast—to put it mildly—does not shine with successes. A little while ago a social institute for sociological studies helped conduct a poll to evaluate the personal qualities of oblast-level leaders, and the results proved downright discouraging. The lowest "popularity index" of all was scored by the obkom first secretary himself. He was acutely and sharply criticized for his commitment to the administrative edict style of leadership also at the oblast party conference, where 176 voted against his election to the obkom. You would think that a considerable role in helping the first secretary see the light was also played by the results of the elections of USSR people's deputies, when he failed to win even one-quarter of the votes.

After prolonged reflection, and having self-critically weighed his strength and potential, Nikolay Dmitriyevich submitted his resignation. Say what you like, but it is never easy to make a decision involving a sharp turnabout in life. And he did this, as the saying goes, in the prime of life. He will be 50 years old this year and spent 22 years in economic management work. He asked to return to that work, voluntarily resigning an

office which had been beyond criticism for many years, as though it automatically guaranteed the infallibility of the persons holding it.

How is this unusual situation to be evaluated: Why did the party leader fail? Where did he go wrong, what errors did he commit, what are the lessons to be learned—by him and by others? Here are a few interviews taken right after the plenum.

V. SOLOVYEV, member of the obkom bureau and first secretary of the Chelyabinsk CPSU City Committee [gorkom]:

Each of us party officials is now living through a psychologically complex and difficult time: Is he capable of restructuring himself so as not to act as a brake on others? Not everyone is successful in doing this, but it is all the more gratifying when a leader at such a high level ponders such questions. This is why I, for example, perceive Nikolay Dmitriyevich's decision to resign as a courageous step.

I think to myself: Why did it "not work out" for him? It seems to me that, at the first stage of perestroyka, he underestimated the forthcoming complexities and the innovative nature of perestroyka. And the inability to organize afresh the work of the obkom and its bureau meant that the elected organ was supplanted by the apparatus. This is where the criticism of comrades—which was never in short supply—should have been heeded, but Nikolay Dmitriyevich became more and more peremptory and categorical in his judgments and actions and refused to accept other opinions. As a bureau member, I am not trying to evade responsibility for the obkom's blunders and omissions. But I did repeatedly criticize the first secretary at plenums for his authoritarian style of leadership. And what happened? "Special" attention was paid to the gorkom's work, relevant and irrelevant reports were delivered, but in essence there was a total absence of response to the criticism.

The feverish quest for instant "unstereotyped" approaches in perestroyka in order to more swiftly report a "breakthrough" led to crash work. Gigantomania in industrial construction, lurches in agriculture from livestock unit cleanup months to a campaign to construct hay storage facilities everywhere, which remain incomplete to this day as monuments to economic mismanagement. And all this was done in a willful fashion, without any preparation or economic calculations, using the method of "universal mobilization"!

Moreover, the obkom bureau's work was not particularly distinguished by democracy. Those present at sittings were not always willing to frankly express their opinion because they knew that they could be silenced at any moment.

Doctor of Economic Sciences A. ORLOV, director of the local branch of the Higher Trade Union Movement School and USSR people's deputy:

You have to agree that the prestige of a party committee and its leader is built up not by eloquent speeches and resolutions which promise the earth, but by actual deeds. Unfortunately, the oblast working people have yet to see any tangible results of perestroyka, especially in the economic and social spheres. Many programs aimed at improving people's living conditions are not being implemented. This cannot fail to affect people's attitude toward party and soviet organs. Confirmation of this can be seen in the defeat of the obkom first secretary and the chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee in the elections of USSR people's deputies.

There can be no argument that Nikolay Dmitriyevich worked very hard and did try, this cannot be denied. He is an economic manager, a good executive officer, and he would probably have held his position for years in the past. Nowadays, however, this is not enough to remain as the oblast's top political leader. N. Shvyrev—and I said this at the report and election conference—is not a master of analytical thinking, he lacks a strategic approach toward the oblast's development and an in-depth vision of the party's new role in the changed conditions or of the specific features of political methods of leadership.

But let us be objective. The first secretary is not personally to blame for everything. The bureau and secretariat must share responsibility with him. I carefully studied the report on their work during the 1st 6 months. Bluntly speaking, it depressed me. It appears that a lot of diverse work was done, quite a few measures were planned and implemented, and yet there have been no improvements... I agree with the demand heard at a recent conference of oblast gorkom and raykom first secretaries that an obkom plenum ought to discuss the question of confidence in all its secretaries and bureau members.

Another thing that very much perturbs and worries me is the sluggishness with which party committees respond to various events. Events ripen, occur, get out of hand, and the obkom and gorkoms at times wait to see what people at the top will say and what orders they will issue. It is impossible to carry on working like this.

M. LYSENKO, chairman of Magnitogorsk City Soviet Executive Committee:

It is a pity that many of our party leaders—worthy and honest Communists in principle—are still in the grips of inertia, of old habits which die hard, of a commitment to established views. I know N. Shvyrev well from the time we worked together in the obkom apparatus. What can I say? He is distinguished by qualities like purposefulness, decisiveness, persistence in the execution of set tasks. But why this dramatic turn of events?

Prior to this, he spent many years in economic management work and assimilated, as the saying goes, from the student's bench the habits and methods of the administrative edict system. This was the leadership style he brought to the obkom. Being initially in charge of construction industry matters, he organized project

staffs and convened operational meetings and conferences of construction industry workers. In brief, he was not a party leader but an oblast-level foreman. He also failed to restructure himself after he was elected first secretary of the CPSU Obkom in 1986: He applied the selfsame habits and methods and issued edicts, including edicts to soviets of people's deputies. He paid lipservice to strengthening their power and autonomy, but in reality did not recognize any separation of functions.

People value openness, they wish to see the party leader as a living person, someone in contact with them, someone with whom life's tribulations can be shared, someone who can give advice. Nikolay Dmitriyevich lacks any desire for such contacts. He kept his distance even from people who worked closely with him. Thus he created a sort of alienation zone around himself. [Lysenko ends]

...I recall how, soon after the oblast party conference, I went inside the obkom building, which was a beehive of unusual activity: Tables and cabinets were being moved from one floor to another, nameplates were being switched from one door to another. People were joking: If we've got to restructure ourselves, let's do it! Only the fifth floor, which houses the secretaries' offices, was quiet and ordered. N. Shvyrev told me in a bright and confident tone: "The conference was like a cleansing shower for me. I think that I'll be able to learn a useful lesson from the criticism and start to work in the new style."

It was not to be... And so—a plenum, a resignation. Incidentally, yesterday's TASS report said in this context: "There was sharp criticism of obkom officials and of First Secretary N.D. Shvyrev." It would be natural to assume that a plenum accepting a first secretary's resignation would provide a principled assessment of his style and methods of leadership, while he himself would frankly share his reflections on why and how he had arrived at the decision to return to the path of economic management. Alas, neither the one nor the other occurred. Instead of this, quite a few words of thanks for his "total dedication" and "personal contribution to the solution of important tasks of perestroyka" were addressed to the failed party leader (to the accompaniment of applause!). No, nobody asks that stones be thrown at anyone who has found within himself the strength and courage to admit that the chair he occupies is too big for him. But why be sly? After all, a principled and exacting discussion would have been beneficial for the common cause.

Saratov Obkom Elects New First Secretary

PM1108142089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unnamed PRAVDA correspondent report under general heading "Plenums of Party Committees"]

[Text] Saratov, 10 Aug—A plenum of Saratov Oblast CPSU Committee [obkom] examined an organizational question. In connection with the appointment of A.A. Khomyakov as deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers and chairman of the RSFSR State Planning Committee, the plenum released him from his duties as first secretary of the party obkom.

Beforehand, extended sessions of party committee bureaus were held in the oblast's cities and rayons, with the participation of members of city and rayon party committees, rayon, city, and oblast soviet deputies, and economic leaders. They discussed possible candidacies for the post of first secretary of the CPSU obkom. Three proposed candidates—K.P. Murenin, secretary of the party obkom, V.G. Golovachev, first secretary of Saratov City CPSU Committee, and G.P. Razzhigayev, first deputy chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee—were then examined at the party obkom plenum.

As a result of contested elections, K.P. Murenin was elected first secretary of Saratov CPSU Obkom.

V.S. Babichev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, took part in the plenum.

NKAO Prelate Comments on Reopening of Churches

NC1508093489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Christianity came to Armenia in the first century after the death of Christ and eventually became established in all of Armenia's 15 provinces, including Artsakh, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The faithful of Artsakh belonged to one of the hierarchical sees of the Armenian Church, the Catholicate of Kantsasar, until 1815 when the Russian Government divided this see into the three prelacies of Vaghartsakh, Kantsak, and [name indistinct].

Archbishop Ter-Pargev Mardirosyan, prelate of the reopened Artsakh prelacy, told a correspondent for YEROGOYAN YEREVAN newspaper that the Artsakh prelacy had existed until 1932, but under Stalin's despotic and inhuman rule thousands of churches all over the Soviet Union were either closed or destroyed and many clergymen were killed or exiled, including the last prelate of Artsakh, Bishop Vrtanes. For the last 60 years no functioning church existed in Artsakh. Thanks to restructuring and democracy the possibility of reopening churches and monasteries has now arisen. Naturally, enormous difficulties and impediments lie before us in this patriotic work, because Artsakh is still within the Azerbaijan state structure. So far, the Amaras monastery and the Hadrut and Mardagert rayon center churches have been handed over to us. We hope that in the future more churches will be handed over to us and Kantsasar could thus become the cathedral.

Azeri, Armenian Officials Meet on Rail Safety

NC1108092989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] We have received the following report from Nakhichevan:

Representatives of the leaders of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Armenian SSR and the leaders of Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] held meetings with the railway workers of the Nakhichevan sector of the Azerbaijan SSR railways network in Ordubad and Megri Rayons on 10 August. It is widely known that the movement of trains along this track was halted as a result of an attack on the Baku-[name indistinct] passenger train in the territory of the Armenian SSR 2 days ago.

Polyanichko and (Vodyr), second secretaries of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees; Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium; Isayev, first secretary of the Nakhichevan Oblast Party Committee; Dzhalilov, chairman of the Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers; (Migrabyan), first secretary of the Armenian SSR Megri Rayon party committee; and Lieutenant General Grigorov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration for Transportation Affairs, participated in the meetings.

The Armenian representatives gave an assurance that trains would move safely.

Both sides are working to normalize transportation. The movement of passenger and goods trains has been resumed.

Georgian Commission Discusses Economic Draft

PM1408115589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Jul 89 p3

[GRUZINFORM report: "On the Road to Economic Independence"]

[Text] A session of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers Commission on the Improvement of the Economic Mechanism was held 11 July. It discussed the draft basic principles of economic independence for the Georgian SSR which, on instructions from the republic leadership, have been drawn up on the basis of experience accumulated in the last 3 years to ensure the economic sovereignty of the union republics.

The need for this work has been prompted by the fact that in the conditions of over-centralization of national economic management, inflexible economic diktat by union bodies, and restrictions on the rights and initiative of local authority, the republic has found itself facing a serious economic, social, demographic, and ecological crisis. Conflicts between all-union and republic interests have led to a slowing of economic and social development rates, a decline in social production efficiency, deformation of the national economic structure, particularly in the agro-industrial complex, a deterioration in the population's supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods, and the exacerbation of the social atmosphere. Some members of the population have begun to denigrate cultural-historical and moral values, and the prestige of conscientious work is on the wane.

The republic sees the only way out of this situation as being to exercise economic independence in the Georgian SSR on a national basis.

The draft, which is based on the republic's exclusive ownership of its natural resources, examines the basic principles of economic independence, property relations, the basic elements of the economy and the management system, the state budget and system of payments, banking activity and monetary circulation, labor and its remuneration, social guarantees, the principles of national demographic policy, the culture and spiritual life of society, and other very important problems without whose solution economic independence is inconceivable.

Having approved the draft in the main, the members of the commission noted that a number of its provisions require elaboration, clarification, and additions. When this work has been completed, the draft will be submitted to directive bodies who will decide the further procedure for its discussion.

The following took part in the discussion of the draft: V.A. Pateishvili, chairman of the board of the Georgian Republic Bank of the USSR State Bank; L.Ya. Khaburzaniya, inspector of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat; R.V. Basariya, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Statistics; D.N. Dvalishvili, Georgian SSR minister of finance; B.D. Gulua, first deputy chairman of the Georgian State Planning Committee; G.Z. Mirianashvili, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Construction Affairs; R.A. Dzhaparidze, chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems; L.A. Gurtskaya, first deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; A.L. Guniya, director of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics and Law Institute; and others.

The results of the commission session were summed up by its chairman, O.G. Vardzelashvili, deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Georgian State Planning Committee.

Report on Abkhaziya Lacks 'Objectivity'

PM1408085989 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 Jul 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "About Article in IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] Yesterday's [18 August] IZVESTIYA published a report on the situation in Abkhaziya by the newspaper's special correspondent Vl. Arsenyev. This has caused a

public outcry in the republic because of its obvious tendentiousness and lack of objectivity.

The editorial offices of the republic's newspapers, television, and radio have been receiving telephone calls since morning. Readers and viewers want to know why a newspaper respected in Georgia is using only one source and why the information is so obviously incomplete.

As your GRUZINFORM correspondent was told in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, such a one-sided interpretation of events in the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic by a central newspaper certainly cannot help to stabilize the political situation in Abkhaziya and certain regions of western Georgia. Proper consideration, objectivity, and a great sense of responsibility for every word written are extremely important here—after all, we are talking about a really explosive situation where even the slightest sign of haste and lack of objectivity is both undesirable and intolerable.

Before forming his own impressions, a journalist from a newspaper with a readership of many millions who has been sent on assignment to the republic should certainly rely fully on official sources rather than arbitrarily selecting facts, thereby giving IZVESTIYA readers a distorted picture of the situation in Abkhaziya. Especially as the IZVESTIYA correspondent had been given information by GRUZINFORM which had been relayed to the republic's mass media the day before.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee has brought its opinion to the attention of a higher party organ.

Earthquake Strikes Armenia 23 Aug; No Casualties

NC2408065389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] An earth tremor was registered in the earthquake zone on 23 August at 0847 local time [1347 GMT], thus again providing a reminder of continuing activity in the earth's interior. According to the Leninakan seismological station's report, the earthquake's epicenter was 30 kilometers from Leninakan in the Spitak region, where the tremor registered 5 points on the scale; in Leninakan it measured 3 to 3.5 points. There were no casualties and no destruction.

Armenian Soviets To Hold Extraordinary Sessions

NC1408122289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] In fulfillment of the 1 August 1989 decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet has decided to call extraordinary meetings of the soviets of people's deputies during August and September this year, at which the executive and organizing bodies will have to submit accounts. It has been decided to enlist the labor collectives, public organizations, mass movements, and citizens' groups in the work to prepare for the soviets' sessions, to bolster the ties between the soviets and the workers, to regulate the joint search for the resolution of long-standing problems, and to keep the population fully informed about the practical activities of the soviet representative bodies of state administration.

Armenian Organization To Promote Foreign Ties

NC1108081489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Dear compatriots, thanks to restructuring and openness, a public nongovernmental association called Armenian Contact has been established with the aim of securing mutually advantageous cooperation between the foreign firms in Armenia and the enterprises in the republic. Armenian Contact has already formulated a series of practical suggestions. The association invites all compatriots to participate in this cooperation. All suggestions will be carefully analyzed and given a speedy economic evaluation. [passage omitted]

Report on Belorussian People's Front Congress

18300775 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by V. Glod, candidate of philological sciences, BELTA correspondent, Vilnius-Minsk: "A Time To Unite Forces"]

[Text] **As has already been reported in the press, the constituent congress of the Belorussian People's Front for the perestroyka "Renaissance" was held in Vilnius on 24-25 June. BELTA [Belorussian Telegraph Agency] and newspapers have begun to receive letters and telephone calls in which the readers ask for a detailed explanation about the progress of the forum, problems raised in the discussions, and adopted decisions. Today we publish material which, of course, does not claim to be an exhaustive analysis of an event such as the congress of a new political organization, but only to report additional information to the reader.**

After getting accredited to the press center of the congress, I found drafts of the program and regulations of the BNF [Belorussian People's Front] among various materials. These documents require detailed study. However, the main objectives and tasks of "Renaissance" are rather fully formulated in the preamble to the program. "The Belorussian People's Front for the 'Renaissance' perestroyka is established for the organization of broad popular support for the radical changes in all spheres of social life that were started by the best forces of the CPSU; assurance on this basis of the irreversibility of perestroyka, and the awakening of the initiative and the democratic and national conscience of the people;..." "the BNF is for the restructuring of society on the principles of democracy, humanism, and social justice, for the creation of a rule-of-law state, and for the renewal of the Leninist principles of national policy...."

I understand that a lot cannot be set forth in the theses of the draft program, and that Zenon Poznyak, chairman of

the BNF organizational committee, tried to develop them in his report. But the more I heard in his speech, the more powerful grew the bewilderment—where is the sincerity: in the program documents, or in the speech from the rostrum of the congress?

In the draft there is: broad popular support for perestroyka. In the report: People who head this process are called nothing more than "party functionaries" and a "party-bureaucratic layer." In the draft: The BNF recognizes the independence of all public organizations of the republic. In the report: There is repeated mention of the party bureaucracy that has seized and usurped authority.... There were quite a few such "discrepancies." For example, these words of Zenon Poznyak were recalled: "If the results of the elections to BSSR [Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet will be like those to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, then the hopes for the democratization of the republic will not be realized." Of course, given today's existing pluralism of opinions, each voter can give a personal assessment to the deputies. Some liked one better than the other. People, naturally, are different. But does this situation give the right to make such categorical conclusions? It seemed to me that the report did not achieve a deep and serious analysis of the situation in the republic. I exchanged opinions with familiar BNF activists during the break. It appears that even they expected a more analytical and constructive tone. However, where would it come from when very frequently whatever problems were discussed, the given divisiveness would protrude: On the one hand, there was the bureaucratic administrative system, and on the other, the defenders of democracy. Alas, a very, very dangerous rule triumphed: "Who is not with us is against us."

But it became apparent even after the beginning of the debates: The one who was able to rise above personal insults spoke about the key problems of perestroyka. The main sense of many of the speeches was the requirement to develop and accelerate the process of democratization, to strengthen the basic sovereignty of the people, and not to permit a relapse into stagnant conditions and a slipping of perestroyka. And this was possible if there was a consolidation around its ideas. This thought was convincingly heard from USSR People's Deputy Aleksandr Zhuravlev: "The main thing is to enter into a frank and honest dialogue."

Unfortunately, this turn did not satisfy everyone. Some delegates and guests used the rostrum for inflaming passions and discord. Not troubling themselves with analysis and the logic of facts and ideas, they persistently hewed to their line. Everything that comes from the party and the government is bad; and everything that is from people's fronts is good. This was so ridiculous that USSR People's Deputy Stanislav Shushkevich could not contain himself: "Dialogue and patience is also needed on your part. You must listen attentively to what others say, and not reject everything in an offhand manner...."

The reinforcement of the role and rights of the soviets, the conduct of fundamental changes in the economic and social spheres—these and other problems were also discussed at the congress. Some participants displayed more sense and understanding of the complexity of the situation that had set in over the decades, and others looked at everything from extreme points of view, calling for pressure at the top.

Such a polarity of ideas is also explicable. The BNF has its own currents, directions, and wings. But it seems that today the most militant part is still trying to control the general mood. From here come the obstinacy and the maximum demands, and the excessive ambition.

But this approach will not resolve critical problems. Today, it is clear to any unbiased citizen of the republic how important the unification of efforts is, let us say, for the speedy elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident, a return to the daily use of the mother tongue, the rebirth of national culture, and confrontation with irrepressibly growing crime.... But this requires common efforts. Consolidation is needed and rejection of counting on an ultimatum, and on creating a halo of the wronged and the deprived around oneself.

Numerous examples show that frequently the BNF, as the saying goes, is reinventing the wheel. Thus, it is written in the adopted program: "The BNF requires the restoration of national, historical names of cities, villages, streets, and squares, etc., a review of all names that do not correspond to the Belorussian historico-cultural realism, the immortalization in the names of streets and squares of the memories of the leading sons and daughters of Belorussia...." But the principle of this process has already been set. The former names of streets Dolgobrodskaya Ulitsa, Logoyskiy Trakt, Storozhevki, and Zolotaya Gorka have already been restored in the capital of the republic... Names immortalized in the street designations are those of Frantsisk Skorina, Mikola Gusovskiy, Tishka Gartnyy, and other famous people of our history. And was it not through democratization and glasnost that the decision was made to rename the streets bearing the name Zhdanov? Perhaps it will seem to some that the process is not going fast enough. But there are other, let us say, economic reasons for this. In addition, it would not be bad to raise such questions in the court of broad public opinion.

It was mentioned in a short report of the congress that one of the most important draft papers of the BNF—about the Belorussian language—as distinct from the draft on elections to the BSSR Congress of People's Deputies—was still not adopted. There was not enough time for this. A doubt arises automatically: But it is the fight for authority and winning one's own place in the political sun that is in the foreground for the BNF leaders, and only afterwards comes the development of the national consciousness of the Belorussians about which they always talk so eagerly and so much.

There is no need to explain why such a policy is dangerous today. It is a serious prerequisite for a split and confrontation. The glossing over of socialist reality that reigned in the years of Stalinism and stagnation should not be permitted to be replaced by a denigration of everything that was achieved in the building of a new life. And the appeal of a substantial part of the congress participants—and it is time to stop exchanging caustic remarks and to get on with the job together—should be heard "at all levels."

I turn on the dictaphone again and again. I listen to the speeches, to put it mildly, of a disputatious nature, and there are many appeals which it is difficult to call serious, responsible, and constructive. For example, concerning the unification of Belorussia with the Lithuanian SSR into a federation of the type of the Great Lithuanian Principality. But, on the whole, a thought is asserted which is indisputable for a majority of the public: It is not a split and confrontation, but dialogue, cooperation, and consolidation that can bring success.

Incidentally, this fact speaks for itself, that the ideas of the BNF were not supported by the new social organizations of the republic of the "Belorussian Language Association" and the ecological union.

Today, when the political activity of many people under the favorable influence of perestroyka grew sharply, everyone is impatient to solve complex problems more quickly. But can this be done under conditions of political pressure, impatience, and a demarcation into the pure and the impure? I think not: You see, the more critical the problem is, the broader and the more democratic should its discussion be.

Back in ancient times it was remarked that it is not necessary to speak or to act in anger. And if the leaders and functionaries of the National Front are really concerned about making life better and more beautiful, and not a satisfaction of personal desires and passions, then they should unequivocally declare to all social forces: Let us work together, we are not over you or instead of you, we are with you.

Former Uzbek Official on Trial for Bribetaking

LD2408191989 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—Normankhanmadi Khudaiberdiyev, prime minister of the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan from 1971 to 1984, went on trial at the USSR Supreme Court today.

Khudaiberdiyev is accused of taking bribes from his subordinates and several other republican officials and giving a bribe to the former Soviet first deputy interior minister Yuriy Churbanov.

Churbanov, who is the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's son-in-law, was convicted late last year for bribery and abuse of office.

Hearings into Khudaiberdiyev's case began in an open session with the reading of the indictment. He faces the charges of taken seven bribes worth 25,000 roubles and passing a 50,000 rouble bribe to Churbanov in 1973-1982.

Soviet legislation envisages up to 15 years, and even capital punishment, for such felonies.

The indictment said that immediately after his arrest in February 1987, Khudaiberdiyev showed genuine repentance and actively helped in the investigation.

At the questioning session today, however, he refused to comfirm his testimony made during the preliminary investigation.

Uzbek Oblast Aktivs Discuss Public Order

LD2607134289 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0115 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] On 23 July at Lenin collective farm in Gulistan Rayon, Syrdarya Oblast, a group of young people (?attacked) some families of Meskhetian groups. As a result of the incident, two of the local militia were injured. Investigative bodies are (?following) criminal actions. An investigation is being carried out. The work which was supposed to be done is completed. Weapons were confiscated. Representatives of the party, soviet, public organizations and law enforcement bodies of the oblast and rayon are carrying out a certain task with the clear aim of normalizing the situation. Work concerning the protection of public order is strengthened. There were no cases of disorder in the territory of the Lenin colective farm and Gulistan rayon. The [word indistinct] majority of the population are living in peace. Normal [words indistinct] is giving assistance.

On 25 July a conference of oblast aktivs were held in Gulistan, where Karimov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, delivered a speech. Duties of the party, soviet, and law enforcement bodies concerning improving organizational and political work and strengtening public order on the basis of the appeal to the Uzbek people and the young population of the republic by the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Commitee, the presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet and the Uzbek Council of Ministers, were discussed. Participating in the conference were Ibragimov, chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet; Kadyrov, chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers; Khalmukhamedov, secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee; and Alimov, chairman of the republican soviet of the (?Uzbekistan) trade unions.

Alma-Ata Sets Up Centers for National Minorities

PM2607155189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by own correspondent E. Matskevich under the "Fact and Commentary" rubric: "National Centers Set Up"]

[Text] The Alma-Ata City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] has granted official status to associations

and groups of activists of the Uighur, Korean, German, Jewish, Greek, and Tatar communities in the republic capital. Each of them now has its own council, program, statutes, and bank account.

Entire peoples and ethnic groups were forcibly removed from their homelands and resettled in Kazakhstan during the years of Stalinist tyranny. The language and culture of small ethnic groups were consigned to oblivion and any reference to their development was dubbed "nationalism." The goal of the voluntarily created national centers is to help preserve and develop the diversity of national cultures existing in the republic.

"The centers have far-reaching plans," A. Burayeva, leader of the Alma-Ata Gorispolkom National Relations Section, said. "That is to say, the arranging of exhibitions on the history and culture of the peoples, libraries, reading rooms, amateur folklore groups, various circles, the publication of literature and textbooks in their native languages, the opening of ethnic restaurants, folk arts and crafts studios, and much else."

"The executive committee intends to help these independent social organizations, particularly in setting up groups in kindergartens and schools where children can communicate in their native language, and we will help to secure training for national specialists in the higher educational institutions of the country and abroad.

"The centers' independent activity requires corresponding material support. Every organization obviously needs premises for its regular meetings, assemblies, rehearsals, and the work of its circles. Some communities, for example, the Greek, are even ready to build a hotel for the city in which a club will then be set up. The national associations' funds comprise entrance and membership dues, voluntary contributions, donations by institutions, enterprises, collective farms, and individuals, and sponsorship money.

"The cultural centers are ready to hold national festivals and celebrations in the city where folklore may be presented in all its diversity. Charitable activity is also planned: help for invalids, the elderly, and people on their own and a friendship service.

Local Party Aide Discusses Tajik Youth Clash

PM2607130989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS correspondent L. Pilman report: "When the Law Is in Operation"]

[Excerpts] Kanibadam, Leninabad Oblast—A hooligan incident was suppressed in Kanibadam in the night of 20 July thanks to resolute actions on the part of the local authorities and militia officials. [passage omitted]

Yu. Yedgorov, first secretary of Kanibadam City Party Committee [gorkom], described the incident as follows: "The people who are obliged to enforce the law did so. This worked. It is uncertain what would have happened were it not for their timely intervention in the incident. We assembled the party aktiv and issued precise information about the incident in order to suppress all rumors and avoid similar incidents and derive lessons for the future. The meeting decided to send gorkom bureau members and the aktiv to labor collectives and residential districts to explain the situation. War and labor veterans and internationalist soldiers have been enlisted in the work. We have also made an appeal to the city's residents. All this has normalized the situation. We hope that everyone who is to blame for the incident and for fanning it will be punished."

The incident in Kanibadam provoked a broad public response within the republic. Most people approve the actions taken by the militia and the internal forces and say that they are alarmed by the actions of hooligans and nationalists in various regions of the country. That is why they expect most resolute measures from the authorities and the law-enforcement organs. Only then can one be sure that every citizen will be protected by the state and will calmly work for the good of the homeland.

Ryzhkov on Cabinet, Home Life, Gorbachev

18001541 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 33, 19-25 Aug 89 pp 1-3

[Interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent N. Zhelnorova: "Life Is More Complex Than Decisions"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Zhelnorova] The people have developed a quite staunch conviction that ministries and offices are to blame for all our misfortunes and troubles. This conviction is frequently borne out by life. The will of the ministries prevents developments and extinguishes a lot of what is businesslike in popular initiative. How are the ministries to be overcome? Nikolay Ivanovich, in the course of the session some of the ministries were abolished, as you suggested. However, was it not worthwhile to deal with them even more harshly, leaving only the ones without which we cannot do at all?

[Ryzhkov] Recently, we abolished about 25 ministries and committees. I believe that at the present stage, the optimal variant has been achieved, though in the future they will have to be reduced even further. Everything will depend on how fast new forms of economic management are going to develop.

Recently, a director approached me and said that we should act more resolutely. I asked him: "You want it faster? Then secede from the ministry! I will immediately sign all the necessary documents for you." He responded: "What am I going to do alone?"

Had I been sure that at present enterprises can do without ministries I would have taken more resolute steps.

[Zhelnorova] However, if we do not arbitrarily remove superfluous ministries, they will not let economic methods "live," sniffing in them their peril.

[Ryzhkov] But we have the government, after all!

[Zhelnorova] In this event, they will have to address you over every trifle. You do not want that, after all!

[Ryzhkov] No, I don't want it. Some ministries already feel themselves that new forms of management must be found. Others proceed more slowly, but search nonetheless. On the whole, everything proceeds in the right direction. However, at present we must maintain some kind of equilibrium. After all, criticism is heard from both the left and the right. Some say: "You do not give us the right to freely sell our products!" Others say: "You have thrown everything off balance; we do not know whom to deal with." Yet others: "Set it forth the old way."

This is a very difficult period of transition. New forms and embryos of what essentially is the socialist market are emerging. This is unusual and difficult for many; this is, perhaps, the reason why negative processes originate. I believe that they will be smoothed over gradually.

[Zhelnorova] However, they can become more complicated as well....

[Ryzhkov] They can. This is why maintaining equilibrium is the main point at present. Some people suggest: Let us not allocate anything, abandon the enterprises, let them swim and survive themselves. However, I believe that economic chaos would set in if we now go for this extreme measure and eliminate some kind of resource regulation.

[Zhelnorova] However, this is for a period of time, and after that everything will come back to normal.

[Ryzhkov] What are the people to do during this "period of time" when the plants are stopped, wages are not paid, and there is nothing to feed the families with? As it is, the country would be paralyzed!

We are proceeding along a difficult path to the socialist market, and we are doing so under very unfavorable circumstances, when the sphere of production and the populace have more money than material resources and goods; it is first of all necessary to sharply reduce the budget deficit in order to restore the equilibrium in the national economy. Nobody has traveled this path before us. We should advance in such steps as not to destabilize our society and the economy. This is a very dangerous matter. However, if we stop, this means that we are going back to the point of departure.

[Zhelnorova] But why do we move in zigzags all the time? We make a dash forward with a progressive decision, and then we roll back. One gets the impression that you want to have adherents both among the radicals and the conservatives. Ultimately, it might turn out that there are no adherents among either of the groups. Meanwhile, time is passing, and people are losing faith.

[Ryzhkov] The inconsistency of our policy is explained by the fact that we had very few profound theoretical studies. After all, we went for setting up the Commission for Economic Reform at the Council of Ministers and inviting Academician Abalkin while he retains his Institute of Economics for a reason, in order to be fortified with fresh ideas.

However, we should not forget that a lot has been done during these years. Take the Law on State Enterprises (granted, with its many shortcomings as well) and the old methods—they are as different as night and day. We have created conditions for genuine labor collectives to use the law and make their way forward. If someone does not want to go forward no law would help him. He will sit still and say that the law is not right, and everything is not right.

Let us take the Law on Cooperatives. It is much more progressive than the Law on State Enterprises. At the same time, I see that certain points in it have not been thoroughly worked on. At the time, we were naive and failed to envisage many processes. Along with the positive aspects, life has shed light on the negative aspects of the cooperative movement. One cannot live in society and take a special position which is not in keeping with the morality of this society. Some cooperative members do not understand this, and thus discredit themselves. After all, you cannot ignore the people! Let us imagine that I, as the head of government, would say: "I live on my own, and the people on their own." What am I needed for in this case?

Unfortunately, our laws allowed them to do this to some degree. This is why we were forced to adopt, with much ado, a law on giving the republics the right to set the rates of taxation a year and a half later. This had to be done right away. However, we did not get the idea on time, and life turned out to be more complex and multifaceted; the tax scale which we had adopted had led to much injustice in the sphere of incomes. In a word, we made a mistake. Had we discovered it right away such distortions in this movement would not have come about. By now, this is viewed as a retreat of sorts.

[Zhelnorova] Are you as a prime minister aware of some major mistakes of yours which you regret?

[Ryzhkov] Satisfaction with the results of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan was my main mistake. The statistics were good. In five or six industries, we conducted economic experiments. However, everything works out fine when preferential conditions are created for enterprises in the course of experiments. However, what was good for the experiment turned out not to be that good for the entire national economy when we introduced economic accountability at all enterprises.

My personal shortcoming was in the fact that I had to think everything through in more depth and, as an engineer, take the factor of scale into account.

One more thing: For the second year now, we have been struggling with the same problem. I am not talking about the budget deficit, because we inherited it; the merchandise deficit is our own trouble. The production of goods is being seriously boosted, but the income of the population is growing faster yet. This income increased by 12 percent over half a year alone. Previously, this happened over a 5-year plan. Meanwhile, labor productivity increased only by 3 percent, and the volume of commercial product by 2.7 percent. The sales of goods grew by 9.5 percent within a half-year—this is without precedent! It is clear that spare money has appeared and is putting pressure on the market.

[Zhelnorova] Could you stop the unjustified emission of money by your order?

[Ryzhkov] If this were to be done through forcible means, we would have to lay to rest certain elements of the reform.

[Zhelnorova] And there is no way out?

[Ryzhkov] Previously, the statistic of a ratio between labor productivity and average wages was in effect in our country. For the year 1988, we canceled it, and the mass of spare money grew. Now the statistic has been introduced again in order to stabilize monetary circulation, and this has immediately run into terrible resistance. By now, as you know, amendments to the Law on State Enterprises have been adopted, and it has been resolved to cancel the ratio beginning with the fourth quarter, but to impose progressive taxes on the segment of profit which is used for wages.

[Zhelnorova] Some people believe that the current government will be "provisional." What do you think?

[Ryzhkov] My opinion is that it has been appointed for 5 years. However, it is certain that everything will depend on the economic situation. You see, you need to have a new program in order to put in place a new government. A simple replacement of the members of government will not lead to anything. For a change, another, more efficient program is needed, which would lead the country along a more successful path. At present, we are going through very much adversity, but we can put things on an even keel. For this purpose, we must constantly adjust our path; otherwise, we can roll back.

[Zhelnorova] It is somehow frightening that you see a possibility of this rolling back....

[Ryzhkov] No, I don't see it. If there is going to be this rolling back, then it will be without me. I will never agree to this. However, if a program appears which will suggest a faster and more efficient way to meet the needs of the people, I will welcome such new government.

However, thus far I do not see such a program. You know, slogans do not amount to a program. I can reel off such slogans right now that everyone will applaud. However, will they be translated into reality? After all, to this end one needs to work and implement them through self-management forms and mutual relations in society so that a mechanism of their implementation would work! Then this will bear fruit. On the other hand, if we are going to utter slogans without bolstering them by deeds this will only irritate the people, and nothing else. The people will quickly figure out what is what.

[Zhelnorova] Essentially, Nikolay Ivanovich, at present we have a period of anarchy: Administrative methods **already** do not work (you do not want to use them), and economic methods **still** do not work.

[Ryzhkov] I would not call this anarchy. This is a very complicated period of transition when administrative and economic methods are intertwined. Now we are working on the 1990 plan, and we have given instructions to draw up the allocations of material and technical resources for agriculture in more detail. After all, the peasants cannot force their way to the market, they have to be given everything in order to somehow elevate rural areas. Therefore, for some time administrative and economic measures will coexist; this is unavoidable.

[Zhelnorova] Very important amendments to the Law on State Enterprises have now been adopted; other major laws are being prepared. Will they solve something in our life, or will everything go down the drain again?

[Ryzhkov] We must prepare five most complex laws by the fall session: on property, on leasing and lease relations, on the unified system of taxation, on the land, and on enterprises.

I do not think that these are going to be strictly economic laws. They will also define the political reform—that is, the life of our entire people. Within this set of laws, the law on property will be the leading one rather than the law on enterprises. It will be followed by a train of other laws. Not so long ago, there was no talk of property. However, 2 years have passed, and look how everything has shifted in our consciousness: We have become convinced that we should begin with the Law on Property, and the rest of them are but derivative.

At present, five groups of specialists and scientists are working on these laws, and we must adopt them as a package, not disjointedly or one at a time. Otherwise, contradictions could develop. Therefore, all of these laws taken together will definitely change the superstructure. I am convinced of that. In turn, it will not work out if we just "do the ministries in" by an arbitrary decision; everything is interconnected too much.

[Zhelnorova] Nikolay Ivanovich, you defended mediocre ministers so diligently at the session that at times—pardon me for being frank—your stubbornness was surprising. What did you need them for?

[Ryzhkov] Pardon me too, but you are not very observant. After all, I did not defend some ministers at all.

[Zhelnorova] Why did you nominate them then?

[Ryzhkov] I did not believe them to be brilliant managers, but believed that they can still work. However, when I took a detached view of the discussion of these candidacies I understood that it would be difficult for them to work in the new environment. Incidentally, I did not mention once the names of some ministers.

[Zhelnorova] The nomination of some candidacies, including Polad-Zade, met with a particular lack of understanding. Why staff your "crew" with the individuals whom people have ceased to trust?

[Ryzhkov] Is this to say that, to your mind, the entire cabinet of ministers needs to be replaced? If there are people capable of working and being useful, why should we not use their experience and skills? Do keep in mind that by the beginning of the session only one out of 10 ministers confirmed in 1984 remained. Moreover, we have been changing ministers throughout this entire 5-year plan. An overwhelming majority of those left consists of people who have been leading their industries for only 2 to 3 years. They have just begun to work; why should we get rid of them?

Has the qualitative composition of the government improved? If we take it in its entirety, it has become the most intellectual in recent decades. Never before have there been seven members and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 13 doctors and six candidates of sciences among the members of the government. All told, we have 71 members of the government.

[Zhelnorova] Why do most ministers have the profession "mechanical engineer?"

[Ryzhkov] This is not due to chance, but rather is the result of the policy of cadre training which existed in our country for decades. Look at how many mechanical engineers and how many economists and lawyers were graduated by colleges. The ratio was perhaps 10:1. Where are other managers to come from? Besides, engineers were primarily needed in the system which existed at the time, because there were virtually no economic methods of management; by virtue of this, life did not elevate economist-managers. In a word, we are reaping the fruit of the seeds planted long ago. However, a new generation will come, and there will definitely be more economists in the government.

They also ask me: Why were so many leaders taken from the military-industrial complex? For several decades, the country has been placing the most experienced, the best cadres in the defense industry. At present, when we have to emphasize conversion, why should we not use in the interests of the national economy the people who are head and shoulders above the rest? After all, 75 percent of financing for research work from the state budget went to military research pursuits, and only 25 percent for everything else. Of course, powerful enterprises have been created there, and powerful cadres of specialists have been trained there; over there, they have the elite. We need not only the conversion of equipment, but also the conversion of minds.

[Zhelnorova] Why don't you deal harshly and sternly with ministers for the crying mismanagement which is also their fault?

[Ryzhkov] Historically, it has so happened that we indeed retire those who do not perform but we do not make this into a lesson in public, and ultimately the people begin asking: Why has he who has failed in his job not been punished? Perhaps, we should announce reprimands publicly and report which shortcomings and mistakes the person has been punished for. Of course, we do punish many people, but do not accuse them publicly, believing that there is no reason to reveal our entire "backstage."

[Zhelnorova] How do you explain the situation when members of the Supreme Soviet want to know the budget of the KGB and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], while your ministers (executors) do not give them (legislators) this information?

[Ryzhkov] It is not quite so. Comrade Bakatin has reported that his budget amounts to 5.9 billion rubles. The budget of the Ministry of Defense is also known...

[Zhelnorova] Perhaps, it is still not the same as it really is.

[Ryzhkov] It is the same. Let us be frank: If we once told a falsehood, why, for what purpose, do this another time? You know, it is not that easy to overcome the stereotype, when for decades we said falsehoods, and speak the very truth now, but the truth has been spoken. The point is that our data are not comparable with the American data for many reasons. They have wages in the army, and in our country the soldier is issued [money]..."for a pack of cigarettes." Over there, materiel also costs more because wholesale prices and salaries are different.

As far as the KGB.... Perhaps, there ought to be some commission in the Supreme Soviet that would sort out this budget....

[Zhelnorova] Are the expenditures in it that big?

[Ryzhkov] No, not big, but there just have got to be some secrets in the country.

[Zhelnorova] However, members of the Supreme Soviet are interested to know this. You could refrain from telling the budget total to the journalists, but I believe you are obligated to tell the deputies.

[Ryzhkov] I think that the Supreme Soviet will, of course, know it.

[Zhelnorova] But do you yourself know it?

[Ryzhkov] I know the budget. However, I do not even have a particular desire to know it in more depth, by items of expenditure.

[Zhelnorova] Do you believe that the new cabinet of ministers is capable of pulling the country out of the gap and that it will expend enough not just effort but super-effort to this end?

[Ryzhkov] I believe that it will. This composition of the government is capable of conducting the reform which the people need. Take into account the fact that the Presidium works out the policy. The ultimate decision belongs to it. At present, our presidium is resolute and progressive enough.

[Zhelnorova] Esteemed prime minister, please tell us frankly: When did you last take a walk barefoot on wet grass?

[Ryzhkov] I do not even remember when this happened. You have to travel "to the pine trees" for that, but, unfortunately, this is not possible.

[Zhelnorova] How do you remove your tremendous load of stress?

[Ryzhkov] My doctor says that I should curse more. However, I still control myself. As a rule, at home I recover from the emotions faster. However, I am very much tormented by the papers, mounds of documents—there rob me of my peace day and night. However, no matter how late I come home (in recent months, I have not managed to come home before 23.00 hours) I try to read at least a little fiction.

[Zhelnorova] What are you reading at present?

[Ryzhkov] "Hard Labor" by Pikul. Whatever they say, I read all of his books with pleasure. The novels by Varlam Shalamov came as a great shock to me. He is an amazing writer.

I like philosophy. At present, I am reading Freud. I like memoirs. Recently, the children bought somewhere the memoirs of Nikolay Morozov, a "People's Freedom" member who spent 25 years in confinement.

I also read economic literature; one cannot do without this either. At present, I have "The Universal History of Economic Thought" on my table.

[Zhelnorova] What about your liking for music?

[Ryzhkov] Musical tastes differ in our family. Lyudmila Sergeyevna rather likes opera. I like individual pieces in operas. At home, we have an excellent [set of recordings] of choral singing. Romances are our common love. We are discriminating in our attitude toward modern music performers. We like some talented performers.

[Zhelnorova] Your slenderness and sharp appearance suggest that you definitely do not disregard sports....

[Ryzhkov] Just calisthenics in the morning and, of course, a steam bath every Saturday. I cannot do without it anymore.

[Zhelnorova] Have you been poor?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, very much so. After all, I was born in a working-class, miners' family. When I studied at a vocational technical school, I lived in terrible poverty. These were the most difficult years: 1946, 1947. There was rationing, crop failures. At the time, many guys dropped out of the vocational school, but I held on.... This is why I know what poverty is and what a slice of bread is. Frankly, I had a full stomach for the first time when I started working at a plant.

[Zhelnorova] What does your family do at present? How many children do you have?

[Ryzhkov] We have a daughter and a son-in-law in our family. Both of them are lawyers. The daughter works as an instructor. She is 33 years old. Together with my son-in-law, they graduated from the Sverdlovsk Law Institute. They completed their course of study after Lyudmila Sergeyevna and I moved to Moscow. The son-in=law is good, and the family is exceptionally close-knit. There are also two grandchildren: Nikolay, who is 6, and the granddaughter Lyudmila, who is 3 years old. They have received their names after the grandfather and the grandmother. At present, my wife does not work, but actually she is an engineer-designer, a graduate of the Urals Technical University. Incidentally, she graduated before me, because she took the day-study course. Subsequently, she worked at the "Uralmash" for 20 years, designing walking excavators.

[Zhelnorova] Does she treat your work with much understanding and compassion?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, very much so. She helps me a lot; she reads the newspapers and selects articles for me. She feels deeply on account of all the adversity and difficulties I experience. I feel her support all the time.

[Zhelnorova] What about brothers and sisters?

[Ryzhkov] My younger brother worked underground for 30 years; he was a worker, a miner, and recently retired.

[Zhelnorova] Can you consider yourself a rich person at present?

[Ryzhkov] No. How can I consider myself rich if we have never engaged in amassing things? What kind of wealth do we have?... Books?

[Zhelnorova] Some people consider you to be mild and kind, others, an indecisive person, yet others say that you also happen to be harsh. Who is right?

[Ryzhkov] If you talk to the people who work with me they will, perhaps, tell you that sometimes I happen to be extremely harsh; later, when I am alone, I myself suffer because of this. I do not yell, but I do not let anyone off either. Remember this: A "doormat" cannot work as a director at a major plant. Do not trust anybody who says otherwise. A plant is a plant with all of its contradictions and complications; this is why it tempers your character—even if you have a naturally mild disposition.

It seems to me that I have always been demanding, first of all with regard to myself, and then with regard to those around me. I have never played to the audience,

believing that I have to do my honest work. This is why the impression might have been created that, supposedly, I am unduly kind.

[Zhelnorova] Nikolay Ivanovich, for a long time the attitude of many people toward you was reserved due to your coolness which looked like indifference. The people believed that you are both too indecisive and too much "under Gorbachev's thumb." However, the horrible tragedy of Armenia suddenly removed your mask of reserve, and we saw your live soul: profound compassion, sincerity, pain.

[Ryzhkov] You know, the mass media also create a particular image. Apparently, something incredible has to happen in order for the image to change. Maybe this was Armenia, where conditions were extreme, and over there self-control is beside the point; over there, the sight of human troubles turns you inside out. Or look at Fergana. They showed little on TV, but you should have seen what was going on there! When I came there, they told me: Do not go into the camp. At this exact time, they were burying the Meskhetian Turks there who had died. However, I decided to go this camp nonetheless—outside the city, in the steppe, where almost 15,000 people gathered. Over there, blood-curdling screams were heard: People mourned their dead. The Turks posted their guards in order to contain the crowd. This is interesting: Two women walked up to me, greeted me, took my arms firmly—and led me through this excited crowd.

[Zhelnorova] Were you scared?

[Ryzhkov] Hard to say; however, my main thought was about how to pacify these people. I realized that it was going to be complicated. So, they brought me to a shack, for about an hour and a half we discussed the situation, and then they led me to a meeting in the same manner, holding me by the arms. And they put me in the bus likewise.

Why did they lead me all the time holding me by the arms? It turns out that, according to their custom, if a woman takes a guest by the arm he becomes inviolable.

[Zhelnorova] Which one of you is more decisive: you or Mikhail Sergeyevich?

[Ryzhkov] Perhaps, both of us. After all, we are like-minded.

[Zhelnorova] Aren't there disputes?

[Ryzhkov] It is naive to believe that we would not have different points of view on some issues, but there are no disagreements on strategic issues. There are tactical nuances which we discuss and argue about how to proceed. Life shows who is right and who is not. However, there is complete clarity as far as the strategy is concerned.

[Zhelnorova] Nikolay Ivanovich, why has the government still not found an opportunity to repay all post-war loans? We are so ashamed to look our old people in the eye: At a difficult time, they had money taken away from them virtually by force, and we still cannot return the debt. After all, they may not be able physically to see this hour.

[Ryzhkov] I am of the opinion that this issue has got to be resolved no matter how difficult the financial situation of the country is. This year, we are planning to return to people 1.4 billion rubles in loans, and this definitely needs to be done. These funds will not close our gaps, but they are causing a highly negative attitude, especially on the part of older people. I know the tremendous difficulty with which they signed up for [the equivalent of] their month's wages, and I remember these times well.... Of course, we need to be wiser in that sense, and we should not wound the feelings of our people.

[Zhelnorova] Do you believe it necessary to cancel all privileges for the managers of enterprises and ministers so that their umbilical cord which ties them to the existence of the people would not get severed, and so that they would be more angered by all the hardship of our life?

[Ryzhkov] There have always been two categories of managers: Some behaved modestly and with integrity, while others sought for themselves something special all the time.

I can speak from my experience. Believe me—he who really thinks about his collective and production does not think about special privileges. What kind of privileges did I have as the director of the "Uralmash?" Working day and night—that was the "privilege." There are 50,000 people at the plant, plus 180,000 more in the socialist city, which is by the plant. Everybody is in plain view. I lived among these people. My wife went to stores, and on the days off we went shopping together. During the 25 years of my work, I did not know what "the back door" is. However, I slept in peace. I may have been criticized for some shortcomings; after all, they will always find something to criticize the director for. However, not one person could ever reproach me for taking advantage of some privileges and benefits. I liked to walk alone through the shops of the plant, and it was there that I preferred to enter "through the back door."

Now that directors are elected, it is not that easy to live off the privileges and gain the support of the collective. If someone is a fraud they will quickly toss him out. You cannot cheat the people.

Privileges of ministers? You know the salary—700 rubles for committee chairmen, 800 rubles for ministers. To be sure, a minister has a state dacha. There used to be special canteens, now we do not have them. At present, ministers are not deputies, as they used to be, and in conjunction with that they have also lost certain things.

[Zhelnorova] So, we are going to print it like that, that they do not have special canteens, but readers will begin to argue otherwise....

[Ryzhkov] However, this is indeed so: Special canteens were closed last year.

[Zhelnorova] What is your attitude toward Article 6 of the Constitution on the leading role of the party?

[Ryzhkov] I am firmly convinced that the party has begun perestroyka, and the party will carry it on. Let us have the article remain, since the party is leading.

[Zhelnorova] Do you assume that you will have to resign soon?

[Ryzhkov] Of course, I would like to see through to the end the endeavor I have started (this is my natural human desire). Leaving during a period that complicated means abandoning everything. I cannot. Certainly, I would very much like for the situation in our country to normalize, for our people, and in particular the common people, the toilers, to see the happy life which is worthy of them. Frankly, this is exactly my greatest dream.

Later, further along.... Some people come, some people go—all of that is natural. If I had not been confident of myself I would not have embarked on this endeavor. Putting it bluntly, one must have courage in order to assume this extremely heavy burden of problems at this difficult time for our country.

[Zhelnorova] Who can you rely on in the Politburo first of all?

[Ryzhkov] On Gorbachev.

[Zhelnorova] And secondly on whom?

[Ryzhkov] Let us stop at the first one.

[Zhelnorova] Nikolay Ivanovich, you frequently travel abroad. When you see the life "over there" does your heart bleed, pained and ashamed that we are a great country, but the people are that poor?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, it always pains me to see that they live better and at a much higher standard than we do, though they also have their problems. This is why perestroyka needs to be implemented so that both we and our children live a beautiful, worthy life....

People believe that if everything is done well at the top life will change abruptly right away. No, all of us must rise up. I will say honestly that a lot depends on the culture of the people.

Look at our cities, roads, and settlements, and compare them to those in some other country. Why do we have such lack of culture? Why are our plants so cluttered—these are material values, after all! Also, no capital investment is needed for putting things in order. We have been corrupted by our wealth. Don't we understand that we cannot treat our wealth like that? However, we said it ourselves: In our country, a glass of gasoline is cheaper than a glass of seltzer water. This is what we got: Seltzer water was saved, and gasoline was dumped at the base of a fence.

[Zhelnorova] Do you feel that you are a considerable force in perestroyka, a force on which a lot depends?

[Ryzhkov] I do.

[Zhelnorova] What do you believe to be the main impediment to perestroyka? You are the locomotive, what interferes with your rapid movement?

[Ryzhkov] At the level of the highest echelons of management.... Sometimes I see that people either do not understand what needs to be done, or agree outwardly, but are not prepared inwardly. We have cleansed ourselves of such people as much as possible.

I believe that the remaining segment is capable of leading intelligently. You know, sometimes it is very difficult to make a progressive decision, much talk of all kinds is started on this account, letters are written.... You say that we abolished few ministries.... I had to fight quite a battle in order to abolish them! A horrible battle, they put pressure on me from all quarters.

I do not have the feeling that all people at the top have grasped the need for sharp changes. At the bottom, inertia is the most frightening thing.

[Zhelnorova] How do you evaluate the mood of the people at present, their preparedness for perestroyka?

[Ryzhkov] The people are more politicized now. They have become more mature, and have begun to grasp social processes in more depth. From the point of view of economics, there is still a lot of the old approach: Let "them" at the top do everything, and then we will begin living well. I believe that this is our shortcoming. The changes will happen only when both the "top" and the "bottom" head in the same team toward the same goal. Besides, the people are not homogenous. Some are not allowed to come into their own, some are waiting, some are satisfied by the average level.

Many people have become accustomed to the averaged, leveled life. People have got to be led out of this equilibrium, in order for them to begin thinking how to make more money. In a word, people should be given motivation. In turn, it is very difficult to overcome this condition.

[Zhelnorova] In your opinion, is a turn from democratization to a dictatorship possible in our country?

[Ryzhkov] My opinion is that it is not.

[Zhelnorova] Your firm opinion?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, firm. Even if someone would like to do so, the people will absolutely not stand for it. I am convinced of that.

Chairman Primakov Interviewed on Congress

PM2308152289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 20 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Soviet of the Union Chairman Yevgeniy Primakov by MOSCOW NEWS chief editor Yegor Yakovlev: "Learning To Hold Counsel"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Meet our guest: Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, one of the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Many people come to the MOSCOW NEWS offices not just to submit an article or make a complaint or say "thank you", but to learn the news or discuss an important issue. Not only journalists and authors turn up, but also scholars, managers, party leaders and statesmen. And though the life at a newspaper office is always feverish, and the deadlines always pressing, such discussions are always welcome. "Journalism is the exploitation of other people's brains" is an old adage that contains as much censure as it does approval.

With this issue, MOSCOW NEWS is introducing a new feature: "Talking Things Over With the Editor-in-Chief."

Laws Are Born of Debate

Yegor Yakovlev: During the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies, I sometimes had the impression that the frequent repetition of the word "alternative" gave it an almost mystical quality. We deputies sometimes looked like the notorious patient who pins all his hopes on just one miraculous cure. As I now realize, the deputies' alternative opinions of what is happening in this country, manifested themselves fully in the debate. One can hardly say the same for the decisions passed by the Congress or the session of the Supreme Soviet. What sort of an alternative, do you think, we need in the legislative activities of the top body of power? What mechanism should there be to ensure this work? Is it possible for a Supreme Soviet committee or commission to develop two versions of a law under the same roof, so to speak? And is it possible for the deputies representing the same committee to offer two alternatives for discussion?

Yevgeniy Primakov: This is possible, in principle. At present the USSR Council of Ministers is drafting a bill on ownership, which is to be one of the key legislative proposals at the autumn session of the Supreme Soviet. This bill will in a great measure predetermine other important bills, e.g., on land use, lease-holding, etc. However, some scholarly proposals are already available, and are being studied by the legislative commission. At the same time, it is by no means obligatory to submit all bills to the session when a certain symbiosis is possible. I'm not against the deputies clubbing together to work out alternative bills. In my opinion, the Moscow group of deputies did some very good work before the Congress which unfortunately was not duly appreciated. Yet, I see no point in organizing for organizing's sake. If a club is set up for the sole purpose of opposing the Supreme Soviet, I find this counterproductive.

Yakovlev: At the organizational meeting of the inter-regional group of deputies you called the expediency of such an organization into question and tried to dissuade the deputies from forming this group.

Primakov: Let me clarify this: I was not trying to dissuade them from setting up a forum where alternative solutions could be discussed and the performance of the Supreme Soviet criticized. This could be very useful. But I believe that a forum like this must not be a closed one opposed to the Supreme Soviet. I was surprised that not a good word was said about the Supreme Soviet by the members of the inter-regional group at the meeting you've mentioned. I feel that no matter how many drawbacks, untapped resources, and unused opportunities we might have, quite a lot has been done nonetheless. One would have to be biased to ignore this.

Or take the inter-regional group's proposal on convening an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies specially to discuss eliminating the constitutional obstacles to more effective local elections. I agree that relevant amendments to the Constitution must be made. And the constitutional commission of the Supreme Soviet must make appropriate proposals. I think it would be wise to accept such proposals from all comers. After the Supreme Soviet approves of the proposed amendments, these can be circulated among the people's deputies for a written vote. However, the inter-regional group believes an extraordinary Congress must be convened. Even though there is a simpler solution, they insist on this point. Why?

Yakovlev: I share the concern of the deputies in the inter-regional group about the pace of perestroika, and this insistence on resolving the most critical problems immediately. But I'm not quite clear about the possible mechanism of the group's operation. They have proposed drafting alternative legislation independently of the Supreme Soviet. I doubt the feasibility of this undertaking. What's the point of it? In this respect the story of the amendments to the Law on the Enterprise is quite typical. Deputy Nikolay Travkin rightly remarked that the corrections discussed by the inter-regional group proved less radical (and less professional, let me add) than those proposed by Leonid Abalkin on behalf of the Council of Ministers and eventually adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

I think that the bulk of the preparatory work should be done by the Supreme Soviet commissions and committees. It is there that the maximum degree of common sense should be sought and found. Failing to achieve that, the commissions should turn to alternative options and consult public opinion.

Primakov: I couldn't agree more. I would have subscribed to the inter-regional group's opinion had they participated actively in the work of the committees and

argued for their solutions there. But this is not the case. We invited several members of what is now the inter-regional group to take part in the activities of the Supreme Soviet's working bodies, offering them leading roles within the committees and commissions (specifically those tackling the most sensitive issues, such as the committee on economic reform and the planning and budget commission). But they refused.

Yakovlev: Still, I think the inter-regional group is the natural product of our democratic development. Members of the group will certainly find sensible forms for their activities. No one can dispute the fact that the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet are so far the most important achievements in the restructuring of our society by legal means, as opposed to voluntarist ones. This distinction is crucial, it is natural that we should spare no effort to reinforce the top body of power, and help it perform productively, in this respect I'm sure, there can be no alternative.

How To Become Minister

Yakovlev: The past session of the Supreme Soviet devoted considerable time to forming the cabinet. It was an unprecedented spectacle, I should say. Ministers-to-be were made to answer for themselves in full public view, and we Russians are known to relish seeing our bosses rebuked. Nevertheless I feel that so far a satisfactory concept of assessing the performance of government ministers and the limits of their responsibility has not yet been worked out. The deputies in their comments spoke more of the locomotive which went derailed than of their responsibility for the quality of the new rails being laid down by perestroika.

Primakov: Perhaps. And still, the first experience was not a waste. This discussion of candidates for ministerial positions was an education for the deputies, ministers and the viewers who stayed up late to listen. At the start, the discussions centred mainly on machinery, technology, ecology and investment practices. Important things, of course. But almost nothing was said about the social aspect of the whole thing, about the way the ministries should act given perestroika. As the discussions went on, this issue became clearer. Each candidate included it more definitely in his platform. Teymuraz Avaliani, chairman of the Kuzbass strike committee, cabled the Supreme Soviet urging that Minister of the Coal and Industry Mikhail Shcadov be taken under its wing precisely because he knows the issue inside out.

But the appointment of ministers is not the only link there is between the legislative and executive powers. It is a beginning. In our further contacts we'll be able to see better the ministers' reactions to social issues, to the functional restructuring of ministries under the new and changing management system.

Yakovlev: Your reference to locomotives brings to mind the appointment of the minister of railways. The appointment was dragged out, to put it mildly. We repeatedly talked to Nikolay Konorev and it pained me to see how hard this was on this man who, I'm sure, is devoted to the railways. I was delighted to congratulate him on the appointment after being put through his paces that way. But still I'm worried over the precedent of revison of the Supreme Soviet decision. The revision was caused by the single arguement that our railways cannot do without Konorev. Isn't it precisely this reasoning that accounts for many of our troubles? We still stick to the old principle: the people to be seated in the front row are taken from the 2nd row, not the 10th or 20th.

Primakov: This isn't quite so. Academician Leonid Abalkin, a foremost economist, became deputy prime minister, Nikolay Vorontsov, a top biologist was appointed chairman of the State Committee for the Protection of Nature. And Veniamin Yakovlev, a legal expert, became the justice minister. None of those men was from the 2nd row.

Yakovlev: But they are exceptions to the rule. I know that cabinets are made up of those whom they know well and proceeding from good intentions. But don't you think, there should be greater democratization in appointing members of the executive power? And what role does the Supreme Soviet have to play here, a body which by nature is more democratic than the Council of Ministers? Not to curtail the prime minister's rights, wouldn't recommendations from MPS be useful?

Primakov: In looking for alternative candidates, the prime minister took counsel with the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet. True, this happened after several candidates failed to get approval. Now some optimal forms of nominating worthy and competent persons are emerging. But the going is so slow because some respected persons decline the offer. Let me say it straight. The position now filled by Vorontsov was vacant for a long time. Three members of the Academy of Sciences declined the offer.

In Search of Justice

Yakovlev: The same happened with the seats on the commission to investigate the privileges enjoyed by certain categories of citizens. You headed that commission. I had lunch the other day in the cafeteria of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. I hadn't eaten so well in a long time. Members of the Presidium staff ate with the same hearty appetite and I thought: have they forgotten that three flights up there sits the man entrusted with having many of these privileges revised?

Primakov: There are many good cafeterias, for example, at large enterprises, where the food is delicious. Campaigning against privileges is perhaps not meant to lower the level of good cafeterias but raise the level of bad ones.

Yakovlev: I'm sorry, but I agree more with MP Aleksey Yemelyanov who noted at the Congress that those who deny the existence of privileges must think that everyone lives the way they do.

Primakov: This does not apply to me. I do not deny the existence of privileges. Speaking about combatting privileges, the first decision our commission made was to transfer for general use all children's hospitals, health centres, etc., from the authority of the 4th department (of public health). This is something that can't be doubted. Other things should be seriously considered beforehand. I think that no one should have the privilege of getting imported medicines when other people can't get any. But at the same time it seems wrong that while the Academy of Sciences, certain enterprises, the Army, the Writers Union, etc., have their own hospitals and clinics, the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet should not. What is inadmissible is that the 4th Department cannot be financed by public health funds.

Yakovlev: It isn't serious, of course, to discuss privileges in terms of who has better meals. I agree. What worries me is that there are whole groups of people who never have to go through what average people have to. They never shop in the usual stores, they don't go to the usual hospitals or health resorts or use public transport. Not only they, but their children who are entitled to the same privileges by birth. Why wonder at "dinasty" marriages after that? How can these people guide others when they are unaware of their conditions?

Primakov: There can't be another view. It is immoral, for example, that my grandchildren can get better medical treatment than other children. Incidentally, this spoils children. But at the same time to switch the entire public health system to the territorial basis, to renounce the system of medical establishments run by different institutions would spell the ruin of the entire public health system. This clashes with the economic reform: in conditions of full cost accounting, enterprises are in a position to build housing and improve health services for their own personnel, etc.

Yakovlev: It's time to make all the privileges known to the public.

Primakov: This is essential. When the decision about children was being taken, we recommended that the Supreme Soviets of all Republics open their medical facilities to all children rather to only the select. We asked them to advertise this as widely as possible.

Is It Hard To Be The Speaker?

Yakovlev: We've been friends for a long time. As far as I can remember, this is your third change of profession. You were a journalist before you took science, and now you are a statesman. Do you find your new job difficult?

Primakov: I do. Everything is new to me. Including the procedure of the Supreme Soviet sessions. While the moderator conducting a symposium tries to organize a discussion so that things of secondary importance do not distract from the main subject, a parliamentary moderator doing this can be accused of trying to impose his own views or of brushing something aside. But I also can't accept the role of someone who mechanically names the next speaker.

Yakovlev: I've heard complaints about you being a taskmaster.

Primakov: This is perhaps true. I accept this. But on the other hand, what's the alternative? As you press the bell, it starts voting. This is the well-known parliamentary norm: the bell stops all discussion. But then someone comes along demanding to be recognized. He comes up to the mike, or else....

As for my present job, I've accepted it, thinking I can't watch from the sidelines now, and that I should try and do my best to ensure perestroika's success. But when I was driving the other day past the institute where I used to work, I felt a twinge of sadness and nostalgia.

Bakatin Interviewed on People's Militia

LD1208210389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Interview with Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin, minister of internal affairs, by "our correspondent" Valeriy Bakarinov; date and place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Bakarinov] The militia is an organ of the people, its own flesh and blood. Does this concept exist today?

[Bakatin] Yes, it does, and I believe that it simply cannot be otherwise. They are our people's militia. We have many old forms which are good—there are militia assistance units, people's vigilantes first and foremost. Well, you could say perhaps to some exent new forms have appeared—the so-called workers' units, this Gorkiy method. This isn't bad form either, not a bad one at all I think and one thing doesn't exclude the other. There is the workers' unit or the militia assistance unit. Perhaps some people don't like this. There are workers who believe that this is some kind of setting the working class off against some other strata of society, shall we say. I don't regard this matter like that. This is some kind of totally contrived fabrication. If, shall we say, the soviet of a Western Siberian labor collective should decide to detail some section of workers to go on patrol in their own Western Siberian settlement—along with the militia, of course—this can only be of benefit. This will be of benefit because if we speak of patrol and point duty in the country, only 80,000 militiamen are engaged in patrol and point duty. This is of course extremely few. We can feel this ourselves especially now when there has been such an upsurge of crime.

[Bakarinov] Speaking of workers' units—the members of these workers' units of course possess some rights. Is that so?

[Bakatin] The workers' unit—strictly, clearly, and precisely—possesses the rights of voluntary people's vigilantes and more. But these rights are sufficient. They provide legal protection because, as you know, Article 191 of the Criminal Code protects the militia worker in the same way as it protects a member of the voluntary people's vigilantes, for example. It extends to him. Two people, two workers work along with the militiamen, simply, who have come from their workbench temporarily. Incidentally, this is useful to the militia themselves too. They are completely normal and sensible people who can also look at outrages by the militia which are carried out within it.

[Bakarinov] That is, carry out monitoring functions?

[Bakatin] Absolutely, that's it. So some of our comrades, of which unfortunately there are still some with us, will have to ponder on this.

[Bakarinov] I think that it must do, without fail, because I think...[pauses] well, such statements are not without grounds, be it because, as you probably remember very well, a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet was adopted precisely a week ago on a resolute intensification of the struggle against crime. And, in fact, the aim of this decision is also that everone should be involved using the means which which we have today, and reinforcing some of them. Of course, there is a Gosplan [State Planning Committee] instruction on this, a very serious instruction, and we know that these decisions will be executed unconditionally. You can't do anything about it—the Supreme Soviet has said this, however difficult it might be. But the main thing is to involve everyone within the framework of the legislation in force, on the basis of our legislative foundation, the existing constitution.

Defense Industry Chief Welcomes Glasnost

PM2607123189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by L. Chernenko under the rubric "New Government: First Interviews": "Military-Industrial Complex—Today and Tomorrow"; date and place not given, first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The latest issue of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK presents the country's new government and discusses those who have been confirmed in top state posts by the USSR Supreme Soviet, their programs for action, their careers, and their professional experience. We present KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers with an item from this issue—an interview with I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission.

He was born in 1928 and is Russian. He graduated from Leningrad Shipbuilding Institute as a shipbuilding engineer. He worked as a foreman, shop chief, and chief engineer at the S. Ordzhonikidze Baltic Plant, chief engineer at the Admiralteyskiy Plant, and was USSR deputy, first deputy, and minister of the shipbuilding industry. Since 1988 he has been deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission. He is a member of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Chernenko] Igor Sergeyevich. What is your attitude to glasnost reaching the sphere you work in—the defense complex? Is it needed? Could glasnost help the defense complex to solve some of its problems?

[Belousov] Let us split this problem into two, if you have no objection. First, glasnost has always existed and does exist in the defense complex system and its enterprises on questions such as the results of their production and economic activity, the economic and social development of enterprises, the fulfillment of collective contracts, and so forth. At sessions of labor collective councils, and at meetings at departments, shops, teams, and bureaus working people discuss in a committed fashion ways and means of switching to economic accountability and improving the social conditions of work and leisure.

Second, the presence of a considerable amount of information on the technical characteristics of armaments and military hardware, itemized product lists, and the volume of production of specific models—which for understandable reasons cannot be revealed without detriment to the country's defense capability and economy—are a feature of our complex. It is in this sphere, as you have said, that glasnost is emerging, removing excessive restrictions—this simplifies the resolution of many problems, allowing us to employ a wider range of affiliated plants and specialists on them, and we consider this direction to be correct. As a result of the expansion of glasnost our working people now know that 40 percent of the work done by ministries in the defense sectors of industry involves output and goods for the people, and this percentage will exceed 60 percent by 1995. The entire country now knows that the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry also produces equipment for the canning industry and fruit and vegetable produce; the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry also produces equipment for livestock and poultry processing; the USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building also produces milk processing machinery; the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building also produces equipment for for the sugar, confectionery, oil, and animal fats industries, and so forth. All this should undoubtedly involve the ministries in resolving specific national economic problems themselves.

The expansion of glasnost makes it possible for us to count on a more extensive use of international experience and cooperation on issues of conversion. This May the USSR submitted to the International Labor Office the necessary information on the questions of defense industry conversion, which could serve as additional initial material for continuing research, extensive international cooperation, and exchanges of experience in

accordance with M.S. Gorbachev's 7 December 1988 UN proposal on setting up a group of scientists to analyze in depth the problems of conversion, with a report subsequently to be made by the UN secretary general and the matter to be examined at a General Assembly session.

[Chernenko] You head the country's military-industrial complex, whose activities in the past were hardly reported at all. Could you say something about the main avenues of its work and the tasks it resolves?

[Belousov] Above all, the military-industrial complex is tasked with creating and supplying the USSR Armed Forces with modern armaments and military hardware in no way inferior to world standards. Ministries in the defense industry sectors are constantly working to improve the technical standard of production and the quality and reliability of this equipment. The high-tech nature and complexity of military hardware required the creation of a major scientific potential in the complex. The new avenues in military and civil science and technology that have emerged over the past two decades were opened up by scientists, designers, technologists, and workers in the defense sectors. The complex has resolved the tasks of developing and producing new types of military hardware, space systems, widebody aircraft such as the Il-86 and the "Antey", "Ruslan," and "Mriya," the "Buran" aerospace system, new ships and vessels—including nuclear-powered vessels—computer equipment, and microelectronics.

The defense complex is now a main supplier of civilian output for the national economy, and, as we have already said, this accounts for more than 40 percent of total complex output. Defense sectors produce large amounts of varied and important output for the national economy and participate in the implementation of virtually all programs. We produce drilling equipment and gas-pumping units for the power industry. The complex is making a weighty contribution to the electronics program, producing computer equipment and communications systems. Taking part in the implementation of the Food Program, we produce tractors, agricultural equipment, and sprinkler systems. The complex produces virtually one-fourth of all nonfood consumer goods produced in the country, and the most complex goods at that. On average each year it produces more than 10 million televisions (including 6.5 million color sets), around 6.5 million refrigerators, 4.7 million washing machines, 1.5 million sewing machines, and many other goods—more than 2,000 types in all.

Under the conditions of the conversion of military production, defense sectors are channeling their released capacity into resolving highly important priority social tasks. These, in particular, include sharply increasing production of equipment for the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, light industry, trade, and public catering.

On the whole, the conversion of military production that has begun is already ensuring preferential development rates for civil production in defense sectors vis-a-vis military production. By 1995 some 60 percent of defense complex capacity will be used to produce national economic output and consumer goods.

[Chernenko] Despite conversion, the composition of the defense complex is expanding. It now includes the Ministry of Communications and certain other seemingly civilian sectors. To what is this linked?

[Belousov] As for the expansion of the number of sectors in the military-industrial complex—the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Civil Aviation—this is linked with the need to improve management and coordinate the range of work to create, produce, and use equipment. Feedback between producers and users of the equipment developed by industry should be stepped up and, if necessary, speedy decisions taken to remove the shortcomings revealed during the use of such equipment.

[Chernenko] The Congress of People's Deputies has instructed the government to develop a program for defense industry conversion before the end of this year. What methodological approaches is this based on? When will people see the results and in what spheres?

[Belousov] We proceed in this work from the provision on converting the defense industry while retaining as much defense enterprise production capacity as possible. Under these conditions cuts in the production of armaments and military hardware should be balanced by increased production of the most important civil output and consumer goods.

In elaborating the draft plan for conversion we should proceed on the basis of the need to implement it without halting production—that is, as production of armaments and military hardware is reduced, production of high-quality civil output and consumer goods should be built up as part of the existing production process. In this connection, along with resolving production and technical tasks, it will be necessary to implement measures to resolve social issues linked with the retraining of specialists and the maintenance of salary levels corresponding to enterprise funds. The draft plan for conversion should elaborate questions of switching scientific research and planning organizations to the elaboration and creation of new models of civil output and consumer goods that correspond to the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress in the world. This work has already begun.

What will conversion produce? The basic guidelines for conversion have been defined by a Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolution—the capacity and material resources released in the process will be used to produce consumer goods and equipment for the light industry, the agro-industrial complex, trade, public catering, and health care. There are also other important problems for the country.

By 1995, production of equipment for the light industry at defense sector enterprises will increase by 130 percent compared with 1987, production of equipment for agro-industrial complex processing sectors will increase by 340 percent, production of consumer goods will increase by more than 100 percent, and production of medical equipment will increase by more than 300 percent. Series production of modern items of civil equipment—airplanes, helicopters, ships, cars, and metalworking machine tools—will be assimilated.

[Chernenko] Don't you think that being part of the defense complex serves as a kind of shield against democratic procedures? Don't you think that you have been in a more favorable position than your colleagues who are responsible for certain national economic spheres whose shortcomings are evident to all? Clearly, there are shortcomings in the defense complex, too. This is shown by the recent accidents involving nuclear submarines and aircraft. What are the reasons for this, and how can the safety of military equipment in peacetime be guaranteed?

[Belousov] Being part of the defense complex cannot be a shield against democratic procedures under the conditions of perestroyka and glasnost. This is confirmed by the course of the discussion of government candidates at committees, commissions, and at the Supreme Soviet session itself. As for shortcomings in the defense complex, of course they do exist. And the sense of responsibility for eradicating these shortcomings should be extremely high, since work in this complex is linked with our state's security. Responsibility for quality has always been inherent in the defense complex. But work in this area should, of course, be stepped up. These question are becoming even more important under glasnost.

As for the recent accidents on nuclear submarines and aircraft, these issues are being tackled by a government commission and a Defense Ministry commission. However, it can now be said that science, industry, and the USSR Defense Ministry have already taken a whole series of organizational measures aimed at enhancing ship safety. As I have already said, careful analysis of these accidents is needed to take their lessons into account, not just when building new ships but also when operating ships already commissioned. There is a need to comprehensively review the problem of rescuing people at sea and to submit proposals on planning new technical rescue equipment. This work is currently under way.

The ways of improving the safety of military equipment are common knowledge: They include the continual upgrading of its quality and reliability and the improvement of the qualifications and discipline of Armed Forces personnel.

[Chernenko] Work in the defense sphere is inconceivable without a high level of discipline and responsibility. What, in your view, needs to be done to improve discipline and enhance organization and responsibility in the national economy as a whole?

[Belousov] I am convinced that the main thing in this area is to work with people and gear them to improving their qualifications and interest in the results of their work. Shortcomings in work, as a rule, are the consequence either of poor qualifications or of indifference. Of course, at our enterprises the traditionally severe demands on the fulfillment of defense orders acts as a spur to a certain extent. And, moreover, we have adopted a procedure for training workers on special programs and certifying their right to fulfill the technological operations entrusted to them, to carry out quality control, and to systematically monitor the state of technological discipline.

We are devoting the most serious attention to creating the conditions for productive and high-quality work—we periodically certify jobs and are equipping and developing a network of vocational and technical colleges and technical schools at plants. We believe that money spent on improving workers' qualifications will always be recouped. I think that an attentive attitude to working conditions should be an important requirement for production organization at enterprises in all national economic sectors. And, on the whole, without fostering and maintaining a proprietorial sense and a sense of economic independence (which is equivalent to economic responsibility) and economic accountability it will be impossible to improve discipline and organization and the working efficiency of workers, specialists, leaders, enterprises, and associations—that is the aim of the restructuring of our economic mechanism.

Trade Union Official Comments on Cooperatives

PM1008125989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS interview with V.T. Ivanov, chief of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) Organizational Work Department: "Cooperative Members Unite: Another Trade Union Is Set Up in Our Country—the Trade Union of Cooperative Members"—date and place not given]

[Text] But do cooperatives need a trade union at all? After all, they themselves are hirers and employers and consequently have a vital interest in creating favorable conditions for their own labor collectives. So whom is the new trade union designed to protect (and from whom)? V.T. Ivanov, chief of the AUCCTU Organizational Work Department, answers these questions:

[Ivanov] You correctly note that the main task of the cooperative members' trade union, like, incidentally, the other trade union associations in the USSR, is to protect working people's interests. In this case we are talking about 2 million people registered in more than 180,000 cooperatives. Are they in need of social and legal protection? Certainly. The boards of cooperatives quite often permit breaches of labor legislation to the detriment of ordinary workers' interests. The new trade union will

monitor working conditions and safety standards, as is currently done at state enterprises.

The existing USSR Union of Cooperative Members, we think, is designed to protect the cooperative movement as such, while the future trade union is made up directly of working people working in cooperatives. This does not preclude, of course, its taking part in discussion of topical problems concerning the development of the cooperative movement as a whole.

[Correspondent] What social benefits will the cooperative members derive from their trade union?

[Ivanov] That will be determined by the cooperative members themselves at the founding congress. But one thing is clear: They will not receive fewer benefits than trade union members working at state enterprises. This means the payment of benefits for temporary unfitness for work and the granting of vouchers for sanatoriums and rest homes, in short, everything that trade unions allocate out of state social insurance funds for working people's benefit.

[Correspondent] Readers want to know what stage has been reached in setting up the new trade union?

[Ivanov] I would remind you that hitherto cooperative members have, as a rule, been members of sector trade unions, according to the nature of the cooperative's activity and its departmental affiliation. That procedure no longer meets today's demands. The Law on the Cooperative System, which came into force in 1988, opened up broad opportunities to form independent cooperatives of a new kind, including those engaged in multiple activities. It is already difficult now to determine which trade union they belong to and where to record and register them as insurers.

Proposals to improve trade union services to cooperative members were therefore made at the recent congresses of the USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Unions of Cooperatives. It was deemed expedient that every union republic set up its own cooperative members' union. Russia seized the initiative: The first primary organizations and oblast and kray committees are being formed here now. The founding congress of workers of the RSFSR Union of Cooperative Members is scheduled for this November.

After similar trade unions have been set up in all republics the cooperative members will themselves decide the forms of collaboration: Whether there will be a single nationwide trade union or a trade union based on the principles of federation.

[Correspondent] How will the AUCCTU's relations with the new trade union be structured?

[Ivanov] We are presently giving its founders organizational help. Presumably the trade union will in the future, as it becomes established, start to play a more active role in our country's trade union movement while maintaining its independence in solving its statutory tasks.

Efforts To Find Managerial Jobs Outlined

PM1008103989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with P.S. Rudev, deputy chief of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems Labor Resources and Cadre Training Administration, by V. Romanyuk: "Apparatus Worker Changes Profession"—date and place not given]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on improving the management structure of the USSR national economy.

It defines measures to implement the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session, which approved the government's new composition. Sixteen ministries and departments totaling about 15,000 people are being eliminated. Another 20,000 managers will be released as a result of a cut in the apparatus.

While rightly talking of the need to cut the overinflated apparatus, we sometimes forget that it is a question of highly qualified management cadres. Where and how will this army of specialists be utilized? Your IZVESTIYA correspondent put this question to P.S. Rudev, deputy chief of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems [Goskomtrud] Labor Resources and Cadre Training Administration.

[Rudev] According to the resolution, the ministries which are due to be eliminated will operate until 1 November 1989. But the process of finding employment for people may drag on for several months more.

[Romanyuk] But the editorial office is receiving alerts that officials are already receiving notification of their impending dismissal in a number of ministries.

[Rudev] Yes, in some places they have been in a rush to do this. But basically there can be no question of anyone suddenly ending up on the street. I have just examined the situation in the USSR Ministry of Grain Products, where most specialists have already received such notification. Thus 150 out of 386 have found new posts, and this work is under way for the rest. Measures have also been taken to solve social questions: Out of 87 people waiting in line for housing, more than 50 have received authorizations for apartments, and 120 became owners of garden and dacha plots. If someone does not solve the question of finding a job within 2 months, his salary will be extended for another 3 months, and possibly even longer.

[Romanyuk] What are the chances of managers finding jobs in the capital?

[Rudev] Of course, they are not infinite. Today there are 17,000 vacancies for engineering and technical personnel and employees in Moscow. A plan of priority measures to train and find jobs for personnel released from the apparatus of ministries and departments has been formulated and is already being implemented. Besides the vacancies mentioned in state enterprises and

organizations, some specialists have a chance to join cooperatives or engage in individual labor activity. It is proposed to make more vigorous use of the method of reserving housing in Moscow so that specialists can utilize their knowledge and experience in other cities for a long time, and then return to Moscow. Vacancies for young specialists will be cut—we shall utilize these posts for the managers being released. All this will make it possible to relieve the acuteness of the problem to a certain degree.

[Romanyuk] Petr Sergeyevich, how do you react to the fact that from time to time people appear in the lobby of the IZVESTIYA building carrying boards with inscriptions saying we are unemployed people who are victims of the administrative-edict system?

[Rudev] Officially we have no unemployed. The status of the unemployed person has not been defined, nor are there statistics on this question. But this, of course, does not mean that everyone has a job. We will have to sign the international convention on promoting employment and protection from unemployment and change the Code of Labor Laws to define the status of the unemployed and measures to protect these persons. Today proposals have been prepared to create an All-Union Fund for Retraining and Redistributing Cadres (in effect a fund to support the unemployed). Two alternative sources have been determined to form this fund: deductions from the payment for labor resources or from the tax on the wages fund. In the second instance the enterprises themselves take part in creating social guarantees. These means can be utilized to retrain cadres and stimulate the creation of new jobs in certain regions.

At the same time, there is a lack of state social protection—the entire responsibility for releasing people and finding jobs for them lies with enterprises and organizations.

A more vigorous state policy is required. Compare the figures: 69 percent of jobs in the country are for workers, and 31 percent are for employees; at the same time workers make up only 59 percent of newly trained cadres, and employees make up 41 percent. Hence the offices which are bursting at the seams and empty sections at enterprises. Add to this the introduction of economic accountability and restructuring the apparatus, which cuts the number of employees three times as hard as the number of workers.

Importance of Committee on Glasnost Defined

18001542 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 33, 19-25 Aug 89 p 6

[Report on interview with V.K. Foteyev, chairman of the Committee on Glasnost of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent V. Voronetskiy: "Glasnost Must Be Defended"—date and place not given]

[Text] **Among the working organs of the USSR Supreme Soviet, an important place is held by the Committee on Questions of Glasnost, Rights, and Appeals of Citizens. Its objectives and tasks and problems that have to be resolved are explained in an interview by our correspondent with V.K. Foteyev, chairman of this committee.**

[Voronetskiy] Vladimir Konstantinovich, we are all witnesses of achievements for the better that have occurred in recent years on questions of keeping the population informed. Glasnost was not looked into at the televised congress of people's deputies. It seems that matters are proceeding normally in this respect. Why was the committee which you head established?

[Foteyev] I think this was brought about most of all by the importance glasnost has assumed as a principle of democracy in the current stage of our society's development. It is for this reason that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in its resolution "On the Main Directions of USSR Domestic and Foreign Policy" emphasized that solid successes in the democratization of society cannot be achieved without an expansion of glasnost. Well, you said that glasnost was not examined at the congress. But I would also add the word "selfless," inasmuch as the legal and indeed the political guarantees of glasnost in our country are more than vacillating. And it is not that glasnost still has a lot of opponents. Some leaders have not yet learned to live and work under conditions of expanded democracy, and they display a lack of understanding and a fear of democratic changes. Glasnost comes hard, and criticism and articles in the press run against the grain. As previously, there are some who continue to consider their opinion to be infallible, and some try to use glasnost to attain far from unselfish objectives.

[Voronetskiy] And how do you intend to organize the work of the committee?

[Foteyev] The difficulty is that we have never had such an organ. As the saying goes, we are the pioneers. There are 40 deputies on the committee staff. Among them are journalists, lawyers, cultural figures, and party and executive personnel. There are also quite a few workers.

We must look at glasnost not only as a means of achieving some kind of an objective. Glasnost itself must be an objective. In other words, one of the main tasks today is to promote glasnost actively to become a way of life in Soviet society. In this connection, our committee will take a very direct part in the development of laws on glasnost and the press. A draft of the latter is already being considered. And together with members of other committees we will prepare legal acts on drawing up laws and develop methodologies for this important process.

Today we are not satisfied with the quality of the processing of our laws. And one of the reasons is that we look ahead timidly. We published a law, but we did not consider how it would be met at different strata of society. We believe that a stream of information is needed under glasnost not only from above but also from below, and that there should be feedback. We need groups for public analysis forecasting or the study of the

outlook for glasnost. We must know clearly how one or another law will be greeted by workers, kolkhozniks [collective farmers], the intelligentsia, and peoples of various nationalities. What will be its social, political, economic, and, finally, moral consequences?

A number of our meetings will be associated with questions of the rights and appeals of citizens. Special attention will be paid to the analysis of the reasons for the most predominant and urgent letters and appeals of the citizens. We will take the necessary measures on these letters right down to the development of proposals on the introduction of amendments to legal acts. When necessary, we will go to those regions of the country from which many alarming letters come to the Supreme Soviet and take steps on the spot to resolve problems that arise.

In this connection, the committee will have permanent work contact with the mass media.

[Voronetskiy] The editorial office receives a lot of letters whose authors report about persecution for criticism and violation of socialist legality in the treatment of citizens. How will the committee fight against such phenomena?

[Foteyev] First of all, I would like to say that this is a matter for all committees and commissions of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet and for all USSR people's deputies, who are called on to guard the law.

As for our committee, we have to get to work on an examination of the legal acts on the procedure for reviewing letters and complaints of citizens. They were adopted a long time ago and many of their provisions are outdated. Significant changes are needed on the side of increasing demands on the violators of established procedures. We must be more strict with those who abuse their official position and who inopportunely and incorrectly react to criticism. Cases in which a worker who is criticized from "below" is sent a letter of complainant for review have to be eliminated. We will publicize such cases. We will also try to influence the legal organs because there are articles of one or another law which have not been applied for years, such as the article of the UK RSFSR [Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] on instituting proceedings against suppressers of criticism. It has turned out here that many laws have become a thing in themselves.

[Voronetskiy] What is your attitude toward anonymous letters and complaints? How refined is the ukase adopted on this question?

[Foteyev] It is difficult to answer simply here. On the one hand, of course, it is necessary that criticism be open. On the other hand, we still do not have all of the necessary conditions to protect the author of a critical statement from possible persecution on the part of those he is criticizing. It turns out that, willingly or unwillingly, we have screened out some of the authors because by far not everyone has the boldness to go up against a manager or to enter into a dispute with the collective. What is the way out of this? To agree with the idea that the recently established ukase needs to be improved, and, in particular, to stipulate in it the right of an author to remain anonymous? This needs some thought.

[Voronetskiy] What is your opinion about the limits of glasnost?

[Foteyev] It is not a question of limits, but of glasnost not being used to damage both the interests of society as a whole and the rights of the individual citizen.

[Voronetskiy] What have you already succeeded in doing? What was the discussion about at the first meetings of the committee?

[Foteyev] First of all, to determine what we were to do and who was to do what. Afterwards we took part in the consideration of a number of proposed candidacies for the position of members of the government and employees of legal protection organs. We are working on a draft Law on the Press. Our main concern today is that the work is effective and that we not wallow in paperwork. A number of our comrades were on work assignments to study various questions.

[Voronetskiy] Tell us about yourself briefly.

[Foteyev] I am 54 years old. I was born and raised in the city of Togliatti. I graduated from the Moscow Aviation Technology Institute. I worked for 5 years in an aviation plant in Kuybyshev as an engineer-designer and as a technology engineer. I was the secretary there of the local party committee. Apparently this was the reason for a change in my profession. I was invited to the gorkom to the position of instructor. Afterwards I was the secretary of the raykom [rayon party committee] in charge of a department in the Kuybyshev obkom [oblast party committee]. I worked in the CPSU Central Committee, and I worked for about 2 years in the PDRY [People's Democratic Republic of Yemen] and in Afghanistan. For the past 5 years I have been first secretary of Chechen-Ingush Obkom.

Lukyanov Chairs Constitutional Amendments Meeting

PM1508121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Commission Session"]

[Text] A session of the Commission for the Preparation of the Draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) was held 7 August in the Kremlin under the chairmanship of A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

At the session particular attention was paid to implementing the instructions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet on the introduction of amendments to the existing USSR Constitution on questions of the electoral system, and on other most vital questions of social development.

It was deemed necessary in this work to take into account as much as possible the proposals and remarks made by USSR people's deputies, and also proposals received by the commission from citizens, public organizations, and scientific establishments.

Zaykov Addresses Raykom Chiefs on Tasks

PM1108133789 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 p 2

[MOSTASS report: "Really Advancing Perestroyka"]

[Excerpts] It has already been reported that a conference of Moscow CPSU rayon party committee [raykom] first secretaries and chairmen of rayon party organizations' auditing commissions devoted to questions of the work of the city's party organizations in conditions of perestroyka in accordance with the results of the 18 July CPSU Central Committee conference was held 26 July at the Moscow CPSU City Party Committee [Gorkom].

The conference was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

There was an acute and constructive discussion that encompassed a broad range of questions relating to the activity of party committees and primary organizations, their relations with soviet and economic organs, the development of intraparty democracy, the improvement of ideological work, and the preparations for the impending report and election campaign within the party and elections to local soviets of people's deputies. [passage omitted].

The results of the discussion were summed up by L.N. Zaykov. We believed, he pointed out, that we could not fail to discuss questions which were the center of attention at the Central Committee conference with party raykom first secretaries. I believe, and you will agree, that our discussion was useful and interesting. There was time to familiarize ourselves with and analyze the conference materials. While M.S. Gorbachev's report and the speeches during the debate give us a great deal to think about with regard to the party's role in contemporary Soviet society and represent a good instrument for improving our work.

You know that the need to immediately examine the state of affairs in literally every labor collective, every rayon, city, and oblast has been singled out as the main task at the current time. The CPSU Central Committee is insistently recommending that party meetings and party committee plenums be held in the near future. We have begun this work. Party raykom plenums are now being held. We must intensify our discussions, especially in the grassroots components.

But that is not enough. The USSR Supreme Soviet is recommending that sessions of the soviets of people's deputies be held without delay. Such sessions must be held in the presence of workers, employees, the population, and the aktivs of various public organizations and associations. This will make it possible to stabilize the situation and boost the people's confidence in the feasibility of the plans for socioeconomic development.

In this connection I would particularly like to talk about the position that has taken shape recently in the sphere of industrial production. We must immediately rectify matters in those areas where difficult and harmful working conditions still exist, where normal social and living conditions have not been created, especially with multishift working, and in those areas where many workers live in hostels. These are the points where social tension collects. Party committees must be aware of the situation and take all the requisite steps to eliminate it.

Certainly, this is above all a matter and task for the trade unions. But party organizations must also take the initiative here. They must immediately determine what is not being done and where as a result of the irresponsibility or inability of individual leaders. They must prevent delays in the solution of problems that do not require significant additional funds or resources. Things can be done today without being put off until tomorrow. All party organizations must be involved in this.

Let me stress once again that responsibility must be enhanced—principled party-minded responsibility from Communists who are entrusted with crucial areas of work. It is improper practice when questions of elementary simplicity—whether it be the organization of a catering service for works projects, the installation of air-conditioning systems in workshops, the organization of transport services, and so on—are not resolved for years on some occasions.

Special attention must be devoted to the state of affairs in worker hostels. All conflict situations in labor collectives must be removed.

It is necessary—and the Central Committee reminds us of this over and over—to transfer all power to the localities in a more vigorous fashion. This is the weakest link in our work at present. We are having great difficulty in increasing the independence and—and this is the main thing—responsibility of municipal and rayon soviets of people's deputies and their soviet executive committees [ispolkoms] for things in the municipal economy. We should see this and realize that—whether we like it or not—during the transitional period people will continue to hold us and party organs responsible for what is happening in the city. Until we enhance the responsibility of the organs of local Soviet power via the Communists employed in them. Until the executive mechanism operates reliably. I know that people within the party apparatus have a different perception of the need that arises occasionally today to set about restoring order directly at trading enterprises and vegetable bases. They say that this is a throwback to stagnation times. I believe that this is not true. It is a present-day necessity.

We must literally show anger at outrages and be tough in restoring order. But what does happen? There is no end to instances of sharp practice, theft at trading outlets, and speculation in uninhabitable buildings in the rayons and crime is not lessening. Law-enforcement organs are proving incapable of coping with everything. Thus, party organs, despite demarcation of functions, must not shirk these concerns until things are organized.

No one has removed the party's controlling functions. There is no need to work for these ispolkoms, but their activity must be controlled. Why, for instance, are rights granted at local level for a body to decide whether or not a particular cooperative will exist if it is not working in the interests of society and the state not being implemented? Let us admit that distortions in the cooperative movement have assumed the nature of a political problem and we are in fact changing nothing to even somewhat rectify the situation.

Unfortunately, party raykoms very often hold the stance of a "defender" rather than an exacting position toward ispolkoms. Complaints to the gorkom regarding shortcomings in ispolkoms' work are not lessening. Moreover, on examining some of these complaints, it transpires that party raykoms do not back the side expressing just indignation over outrages but the side demonstrating bureaucratism, red tape, and callousness.

This also happened during the examination of many of Comrade Kulakov's complaints to the Dzerzhinskiy CPSU Raykom regarding the abominable state of the apartment block where he lives and the outrages which are perpetrated in the bar located on the ground floor. But the rayon sent formalistic replies to the author and the party gorkom. This is no isolated example. People at the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom lost an application from a large family for housing, in Kuybyshev Rayon a veteran has been promised that his apartment would be repaired for the past 2 years, while in Kirovskiy Rayon artists have been expelled from their workshop and have grovelingly haunted the doorways of managers' offices for 5 years begging for something they should receive by law. You cannot list everyone.

So one can understand why people are irritated and mistrustful of those who are now in power and show a complete inability to deal with and use this power in the people's interests. Party organizations must clearly determine their attitude to such woeful leaders and always take the side of working people and their just demands. The party used to and still does serve the people. We must proceed on this premise in our daily work.

All forms and methods of party work require substantial revival and renewal. The municipal party organization is now conducting an active quest for innovations in party work. The all-Moscow debate about the place and role of the city's party organization in the life of the capital will indisputably help this; it was decided to hold this debate at our last plenum.

The debate must not be confined within the framework of party organizations. Muscovites, including those "informals" who hold constructive positions, must be involved in its sphere.

This debate must enrich the practice of carrying out ideological work. It must be substantive and in a form that is attractive for people since, when in the past it became overgrown with dogma, it long since ceased to function.

We must learn to talk with people and convince them. We cannot be the political vanguard without that. That is our most serious task.

Today as never before you need confidence in what you yourself are doing. Without that one cannot count on success. I will cite just one example in this connection. We proclaimed our "Progress-95" program, which was elaborated on the Moscow CPSU Gorkom's initiative to be our election platform for the elections to local soviets—the economic part of this platform. It is understandable that it is exceptionally intensive. However, its provisions were calculated in view of our real opportunities. Let us organize our work and fulfill our plans. But can political and organizational work be carried out within the collectives if it is not imbued with the ideas of this program?

Let me stress once again that we need to be confident in what we are all doing together. Without this we cannot cope with the party's program to extricate the country from the crisis where the market has tottered, the ruble has lost stability, and feverish mass "contingency" buying has begun. All this complicates the activity of party organizations and kindles tension and even indignation in the population. Our opponents are speculating on this.

But we must not panic, we must muster the will and work. We must constantly remember that the prestige of the entire party rests on the results of our work. That is why we cannot and do not have the right to shirk the solution of Muscovites' urgent problems.

Especially since we have done good groundwork in every rayon and at every enterprise. Including by preparing for the transition to economic accountability as of January next year. This also represents concrete party work to implement economic reform.

One of the most pressing tasks today is to boost glasnost in party organs' work. It is necessary to ensure that the municipal party organization holds a visible stance on questions worrying Muscovites. The time requires us to take into consideration the increased level of politicization of the masses and find forms and methods of political work that are adequate for the task.

The main thing, L.N Zaykov stressed, is to maintain the high level of activeness among the people and channel their energy and initiative into the constructive renewal of the socialist state using all available methods of political work in our arsenal.

Vlasov Explains Reasons for Late Wage Payments

PM1408091989 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by A. Vlasov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, under the "Official Reply" rubric: "Wages for Muscovites"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] On 27 July our newspaper published an open letter from the Moscow trade unions to A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers. It discussed the concern of the capital's working people about delays in paying wages at the city's enterprises and institutions. The editorial office has received a reply to the article.

Esteemed Comrades!

We share your concern about the increasingly frequent cases of delays in paying the capital's working people. Clearly, this practice is impermissible. And the government is striving to find a way out of the prevailing situation.

The resolution of this task has specific features in the context of Moscow. After all, production and turnover plans, as well as the cash plan for income [kassovyy plan po prikhodu], have been overfulfilled in the city, as your letter rightly noted. But there is not enough money to pay wages.

What is going on?

Above all, the point is that the money outflow from banks is growing far faster than inflow, and the gap is increasing. Whereas last year cash inflow increased by 7.2 percent and outflow by 8.5 percent, in the 1st half of this year the corresponding increases were 13 and 26 percent. As a result, spending exceeded the planned figure by almost R1.2 billion.

This enormous "gap" has come about above all because of above-plan wage payments. Wages have actually increased by 14.8 percent compared with planned growth for the half-year of 4.1 percent. This has led to additional payments of more than R680 million.

Another reason has been the considerable growth in cash payments to cooperatives. Whereas cooperatives received R313 million from the city's banks in all of 1988, they earned R1.2 billion in the first half of this year. In this connection the forecast [raschetnyy] total was exceeded by almost R390 million.

Currently we are closing the gap between cash inflows and outflows by issuing more money. Of course, this approach has been forced on us and will only lead to increased economic imbalances. It is quite understandable that each decision on this score is increasingly difficult. Hence the certain amount of delay in paying wages.

We see a radical way out of the prevailing situation in boosting labor productivity, increasing volumes, and cutting production costs. And, of course, in saturating the market with goods. I note, incidentally, that in the last 6 months production of nonfood goods in Moscow has grown by 2.4 percent, whereas the increase for the RSFSR as a whole has been 7.7 percent. The bringing of wages into line with the results of work, and the improvement of the taxation of cooperatives are also of paramount importance. This is the aim of soviet and economic organs.

Moreover, in your letter you insisted on stopping cash withdrawals from the USSR State Bank [Gosbank], calling the practice "pernicious." I cannot agree with this. This way of posing the question can only mislead people.

It is well known that every year tens of millions of people from different parts of the country spend some of their money in Moscow. On average each year each inhabitant of the capital makes approximately R3,000 worth of purchases, whereas the figure per inhabitant of the RSFSR is just R1,400. It is because of this that Moscow is allocated extra goods resources for the retail trade. So the city's cash plan can only be called Moscow's by convention. It is part and parcel of the republic's cash plan and that of the country as a whole. That is why it is quite right that some of the city's cash flow [vyruchka] is redistributed to other regions on a planned basis by the USSR Gosbank.

Publication of Crime Statistics Planned

LD1508191489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] We continue with news about today's briefing at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The following figures were cited there: So far this year, the bodies of internal affairs and the public Prosecutor's Office have recorded 1,292,905 crimes, which is 32 percent more than for the similar period last year. The growth in serious crimes is particularly alarming. It is most marked in Armenia, Estonia, Belorussia, Kirghizia, the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as in Murmansk, Volgograd, Tyumen, Rostov, and Pskov Oblasts and in Moscow.

The speakers spoke with alarm about the growth in crime on the streets. On the whole, the number of crimes throughout the country committed on the streets and in other public places grew by almost 84.5 percent. More than half of all crimes consist of theft of the personal property of citizens.

Incidentally, now every one who wishes can have data on the crime rate in the USSR for the year. From January a collection of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR Public Prosecutor's Office, and the country's Ministry of Justice called Crime and Violations of the Law in the USSR will be published in Russian and four foreign languages and be circulated on subscription and in the retail trade. The collection will come out in an edition of 100,000 copies.

Roundtable Discusses Extent of Corruption

PM2308152889 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 20 Aug 89 p 10

["Roundtable" feature compiled by Natalya Gevorkyan: "Corruption—the Exception or the Rule?"]

[Text] The sensational court trials of recent years have to a degree lifted the veil over the scope and the mechanics of corruption in this country. We have admitted that corruption is part of organized crime. But where are its origins, what breeds it, and how can we rid ourselves of it? These were the central questions in a discussion between Tatyana Koryagina, D.Sc. (economics), head of a department of the Economic Research Institute of the USSR State Planning Committee, Yuriy Kozlov, Cand. Sc. (law), in charge of a laboratory at Moscow University's Law Department, Telman Gdlyan, people's deputy of the USSR and investigator of cases of special importance working under the USSR Procurator General, Alfred Zhalinskiy, LL.D, professor at the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Genri Reznik, Cand. Sc. (Law), counsel.

Sources

MN: The meaning of the term "corruption" is clear. Let's try and get at the source of this phenomenon here.

Kozlov: Its source is totalitarianism.

Gdlyan: I can't agree. Take dictatorship in its most classical form—Stalin and those close to him. I can assure you there was no such widespread and deep-rooted corruption in those years. A dictatorial system of government precludes abuse of powers on such a colossal scale. But what happened under such an inept leader as Brezhnev? The rotting system started to fall apart, vice blossomed and corruption affected nearly all levels of power.

Reznik: But it is Stalin to whom we owe the creation of the inhuman economic system geared to serve the totalitarian power rather than the consumer. The system also programmed the existence of low-paid bureaucrats who nevertheless have colossal authority as regards the distribution of goods and favours. Add to this the total absence of any control over the bureaucrats. Having built such a system, the state itself encouraged the powers-that-be to be corrupt.

MN: The appearance of an economy which to a considerably greater degree functions according to capitalist business laws is quite logical. What's the relationship between this illicit economy and the quite legal bureaucracy?

Reznik: They are almost the same as that which existed in Germany in the middle of the last century: "The bureaucracy...becomes an unbearable fetter for the bourgeoisie... The German factory owners have hitherto kept the bureaucracy off their backs as much as possible by bribary, for which they can certainly not be blamed." That's Engels. Our economic managers also had to bribe bureaucrats so that the economy could function and be of some use to society. Paradoxically, this should be viewed as a good thing. Here you have a situation where morals get warped. We are doomed to our corruption system that we have. What we have today is not a sudden show of abnormality but a logical syndrome of the command economy.

A Cloud or a Silver Lining?

Koryagina: I've long been studying the shadow economy in cooperation with the legal authorities. Right from the start we came across instances of those on the top covering up thefts and concealing money, say, in the services industry. Bribes and pumping money from below to the top create the corrupt economic system. But within this negative phenomenon I have already noted a positive thing: the shadow economy allows the consumer to survive somehow in the conditons of our absolutely absurd economy, and gives him a chance to buy something for his honestly earned rouble.

Reznik: Let me give you an example of the good side of this paradox from my own experience. Two years ago a criminal case was tried involving a main department that had materials in its possession but kept them in reserve. Only for bribes did it permit agricultural managers, who had funds but no materials, to make use of them. Was that a crime? It was. But as a result, the managers used the money to build lots of pigsties, cowsheds and housing.

There were also economic benefits. Take the sensational "fur" case in Karaganda in the 1970s. A private shop manufactured fur caps—it was the shadow economy in its pure form. It didn't even steal the fur from the state: the sheepskins came from a private herd. There was a criminal case, a trial, prison terms, death sentences, the shop was eliminated—and no more caps for sale.

Kozlov: But these "benefits" have another side to them which make them very dangerous. Our corruption is based on bribing dozens of people. The number of those involved in this system is increasing in a geometrical progression.

MN: Under market relations the situation should change. And our economy has started to develop in this direction, hasn't it?

Koryagina: Yes, nowadays we have made the first step towards market relations. We need independent manufacturers of goods, we said, and formulated this idea in the Law on Cooperatives. The results of our research and that of the Law Department of Moscow University coincide: the cooperatives instantly got involved in corruption. According to our count, in 1988, the worth of legalized shadow economy business increased by nearly 800 million, while the "shadow turnover" went up by approximately 1.4 billion through racketeering, bribes, and the concealment of profits due to the inadequate system of taxation. Thus the Law on Cooperatives provided an added impetus to crime.

MN: It was most likely unrealistic to expect to avoid this in our transition period.

Reznik: It's a tall order, isn't it, to avoid all sorts of negative phenomena, on the one hand, guarantee goods and services, on the other, at the same time seeing that no one grows rich in the process and that there is no racketeering. It is only natural that professional crime has moved into areas where the money is. And naturally you have to pay for everything. You have to pay for economic changes and even for democracy. This does not mean we should turn off the chosen road or start panicking. Incidentally, consider why, given normal market relations, should the mafia prefer to make money on illicit drug trafficking and prostitution? It would not occur to anyone there to make it on ladies' knitwear, shirts or foodstuffs.

Zhalinskiy: Why should one manufacture shirts on the sly if that's what the consumer wants? I think we are quite capable of integrating many branches of the shadow economy. And this would automatically narrow down the field for corruption.

Koryagina: Surely, there should be normal economic laws to exclude a situation where the Criminal Code may hit out at practical and sensible things. The absurd ought to be replaced by a common-sense economy.

Let's try to cast a glance at the future. With the idea of joint-stock capital on the cards, the shadow economy would continue to launder its money by buying up stocks. There is an equal danger in major corrupt officials coming to lead joint ventures, especially those involving Western firms. Money, in fact, seeks power.

Money And Power

Gdlyan: We say, for example, that the economy is in a poor shape. I don't think that corruption is due to economic aspects alone. I'm a man of practice, and what worries me most is white-collar crime. Why are bribes taken by those whose social and economic status is by no means low? And how long can they take bribes? Becoming corrupt themselves, they corrupt those under them. This forms a vicious circle. In the areas where we conducted investigation, bribery and corruption are literally mass scale. Were those people born criminals? Of course not? It's the system that is to blame for their tragedy. As a private citizen, I can understand those economic officials who are forced to give and take bribes to keep their organizations going, but as a lawyer, I have to make them answer for it. Set up a free market economy tomorrow, and many economic crimes will fold up automatically. But I just can't understand and can never justify members of the legal, Party or local government systems, who wield some power and who take bribes though nobody and nothing presses them into it.

Zhalinskiy: You realize, don't you, that in this case subjectivism may lead to bloodshed?

Gdlyan: That is a question of fundamental importance. Those who used to be happy if we caught only "scapegoats" (and the more of them the better) accused and continue to accuse us of not instituting criminal proceedings against thousands of people involved in corrupt practices against their will. They are perhaps right from the point of view of the formal application of law, but from the point of view of reason, that is immoral. Back in 1986 we explained that to the country's leader. We have the document. We insisted: most of those pushed into crime should be freed from criminal liability, but those who organized and directed these crimes should be made to answer.

Zhalinskiy: I'm worried by the shift in emphasis on the idea of the mafia and the higher-ups who are to blame for all our troubles. People are upset over what is happening and would like to have all the problems solved at a strike. Everybody is out to share the millions robbed by the shah. But what good would this do? Another dozen or so big shots would be put behind bars. Yet, it's not the booty alone that matters. It is the system of power, which makes uneconomic decisions possible, that should be replaced.

MN: I don't think it is accident that the bulk of corruption- related crimes are rated here as economic crimes. Quite true, corruption here is sustained by consumer shortages and the system of distribution. And they also cement the corruption-power bond. This bond is unavoidable while there is direct administrative interference in the economy, and unless there are relations of partnership rather than of diktat between the layers of management and the actual producer.

Koryagina: We mustn't underestimate the fact that the illegal businessmen have concentrated really huge economic power, in the form of material resources, in their hands. In my estimation, the "capital" of those involved in the shadow economy has increased many times over since the early 1960s and now totals 200-240 billion roubles. This is both paper money and, mostly, money invested in businesses, jewelry, objets d'art (icons, paintings), to say nothing of dachas, cars, etc. Incidentally, while we had been debating the way to make the rouble a convertible currency, lots of "shadow" roubles were most likely being exchanged for hard currency. Part of these roubles crossed the border and ended up in foreign bank accounts. This worries me even from a moral point of view: what kind of market relations can be discussed in this situation? Besides, where there is money, there is inevitably the question of power, too, since the shadow economy is synonymous with corruption, what we essentially have is the politicalization of corruption. In order to exist, it needs a high level of protection. I think these elements may try to destabilize the situation inside the country to compromise the forces opposing them.

Kozlov: Tatyana Koryagina's scepticism, I understand, is based on the fact that it is unrealistic to create normal market relations in conditions of our corruption.

Koryagina: You are probably right. Those who have underground capital fear a normal market-oriented economy. They would have to declare their massive profits. The success or failure of our reforms largely depends on whether we shall be able to handle the situation using economic, legal and social measures.

Zhalinskiy: Going back to your idea that the mafia can provoke disturbances... I think that the shadow economy mainly seeks stability. Either through preserving the old apparatus or through replacing it with a new, more flexible one, capable of switching to normal market relations. This in no way eliminates the issue of punishment for corruption.

Punishment

Gdlyan: In order to fight corruption efficiently one should use the four principal levers: political, economic, legal and, naturally, moral. But before we start, there should be a government programme to fight crime, primarily organized crime.

Zhalinskiy: I'm not for impunity but I think we should very precisely define the priority of repressions, basing ourselves on reality. This is important because of our shameful history of repressions. I think Gdlyan knows better than me that the possibilities of the investigative apparatus have their limit.

Gdlyan: The law should primarily work against the top of the pyramid Tatyana Koryagina described—against mercenary officials and the organizers of corruption. Their numbers, incidentally, are not unlimited. But this struggle will be effective only when the public prosecution, the militia, the court, and the KGB obey solely the supreme body of state power, the law and their own conscience.

Zhalinskiy: The law should not be a bugbear. Legal levers are needed to control processes going on in society, proceeding from the interests of the citizenry, as well as to propel the economy in the right direction. Can we remove from the Criminal Code the sorts of activities for which there is a market and customers? Let this be determined by economists and let's legalize those activities.

Further: The criminal law needs radical streamlining. In its present form it leaves room for abuse. For this reason I insist there be clear-cut limits to repressions. It should be specified which laws should apply, and what sort of control over the investigation and prosecution will be there when repressions are administered. I am in favour of using parliamentary levers: committees, investigations. We should give some thought to the idea of turning the Department to Combat Thefts of Socialist Property into a body of financial or parliamentary control. In my view, changes in our legislation should emphasize punishment for abuse of one's position and exceeding one's power, for misuse of socialist property, and curtailment of the rights of subordinate officials. As we revise our laws, we should keep in mind that we have very inadequate social protection, so we should in every instance regard the protection of citizens' rights as of paramount importance over the protection of the apparatus'.

MN: Despite the difference of opinion, everybody agrees that corruption is rooted in the abnormal economy and the management system. Today's attempts to change both are not always well considered and sometimes are much too cautious. This ofentimes damages and causes problems in the sphere of law and order. It is senseless to fight them by repression alone, without setting more resolutely in motion the economic, social and political levers.

Official Reveals Emigration Statistics

PM1508153089 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 6 Aug 89 p 2

[Nikolay Zaborin report: "After Vienna. Six Times Less 'Refusniks'"]

[Text] Eighty-four per cent of Soviet citizens previously not allowed to go abroad have now been granted permission, Rudolf Kuznetsov, Chief of Soviet Visa and Registration for Foreigners Office of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told journalists.

"As of January 19, at the close of the Vienna meeting, 1,855 Soviet citizens had been refused exit visas for temporary trips or permanent residence," said Kuznetsov. "As a result of analysis and additional revision of these materials within the framework of the fulfilment of the Vienna accords, 1,656 applications were satisfied. The remaining 299 citizens have been temporarily refused exit visas. Some of them are in possession of state secrets, and the departments in which they work object to their departure at the given moment. The other category are people who have failed so far, in accordance with the law now in force, to settle their relations with close relatives. Some citizens gave false information about themselves. But they may later be allowed to leave the country."

On the whole, as the head of the Visa Office put it, in the first 6 months of this year 91,000 Soviet citizens have gone abroad for permanent residence, 2.6 times more than in the corresponding period for 1988 (in 1988 a total of 108,000 people left the USSR). Of this number over 41,000 left for West Germany, about 35,000 had Israeli visas (according to Western press reports, only one out of 8 who leave really goes to that country). In the past half year, 8,000 people have been given exit visas to the US, mainly Armenians; among those who had once emigrated to the USSR. Altogether 5,000 people have left the USSR on religious grounds.

Biryukova Addresses Sports Committee Officials

LD1008123989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "National Olympic Committee Prefers Sochi"]

[Text] The USSR National Olympic Committee has held a plenum to discuss the candidate cities contending for

the right to host the 1998 Winter Olympics. The result was that success in the contest between Alma-Ata, Bakuriani, and Sochi fell to the Black Sea resort.

As the first item on the agenda the plenum participants discussed a draft new edition of the USSR Olympic Committee's statutes. All in all, the draft new edition of the statutes was approved. The editorial commission was entrusted with modifying the proposed draft within 2 months, taking comments and recommendations into account.

The plenum participants and staffers of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports [Goskomsport] were addressed by A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. On behalf of the government she expressed gratitude to M.V. Gramov for his many years' work in the post of chairman of the USSR Goskomsport and introduced N.I. Rusak, the new chairman of the Goskomsport approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

United Front of USSR Working People Established

PM1408162189 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jul 89 p 3

[V. Koshvanets report: "Was There an Alternative? Constituent Congress of United Front of USSR Working People Held in Leningrad"]

[Text] Let us not lose the battle!...

Now, in addition to the numerous regional people's and international fronts and other sociopolitical formations which are, so to speak, fighting battles of local importance, an all-union front has appeared. It is the United Front of USSR Working People formed at the constituent congress of socialist movement councils which took place last Saturday and Sunday in Leningrad.

A total of 83 delegates participated in the congress, representing international-socialist movements and fronts of working people of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia, the Ukraine, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics, Moscow, and Leningrad. The congress adopted a declaration on the formation of the United Front of USSR Working People, its regulations, and other documents and elected the Front Coordination Council and seven coordinators who are called upon to be responsible for the state of affairs in various specific regions of the country.

Yesterday, at a press conference in the Culture Center named for the Leningrad Soviet, delegates from the congress and the leaders of the United Front of USSR Working People familiarized journalists with its program documents and described the first actions taken by new front.

I.V. Lopatin, chairman of the International Front of Working People of Latvia Council, V.V. Ivanov, one of the cochairmen of the Socialist Movement for Perestroyka in Lithuania, A.P. Sheremetev, coordinator of the United Front of Leningrad Working People, and others addressed those assembled. As the speeches stressed, the main aim of creating the United Front of USSR Working People is to unite the efforts of working people of all nationalities—workers, collective farm workers, and the working intelligentsia—in the struggle to implement perestroyka and improve the people's life on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and socialist ideals.

This requirement is consistently implemented in all the documents adopted by the congress which the journalists saw—the Declaration on the Formation of the United Front of USSR Working People, resolutions on strengthening the power of the working people, on interethnic relations, and on attitudes toward the party, appeals to the peoples and governments of the Baltic republics and to the intelligentsia, on elections to the local soviets, and others.

It is naive and dangerous to hope that perestroyka for the good of the working people, social justice, and national equality will automatically be implemented in the country, the documents say. All kinds of corrupt, bureaucratic, antisocialist, and nationalist forces leading the country toward chaos and disruption will try to hinder them. Only the working people themselves can avert a catastrophe by asserting genuinely Leninist principles of self-government, coming to power in the Soviets, and creating a decisive barrier against all the elements, including those in the party, which try to affirm antisocialist values.

At the press conference, where the participants answered numerous questions from journalists, a telegram from the congress to the striking Kuzbass miners was read out; it expressed full solidarity with their just demands and also contained an appeal to seek other, nonstrike methods of achieving them.

...It is probably too early to comment on the program aims of the United Front of USSR Working People. Time is needed to interpret them and more importantly, we must wait for the new front to take specific actions. One would like to hope that they will be marked by constructive dialogue with all sound forces of society and that they will make it possible to consolidate society and not divide it further, which is something we are all so tired of. All the same, it is disturbing: Will we ever learn to resolve the very difficult political, economic, social, and interethnic problems of perestroyka and change our lives for the better without having to create fronts for this purpose? Is there another, more civil and more creative alternative to them?

Communist Party Publications Reorganized

LD1508200889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 15 August broadcasts a report on an interview by a TASS correspondent with Boris Petrovich Butenko, a senior official in the USSR Ministry of

Communications, on the reorganization of a number of party publications beginning in 1990, as decided by the CPSU Central Committee. Following are the changes:

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, a daily newspaper, takes the place of STROITELNAYA GAZETA and SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA;

EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA will become the weekly EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN;

ARKHITEKTURA, a supplement to STROITELNAYA GAZETA, will move across to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, which wil itself put out a new weekly supplement called EKRAN I STSENA;

DIALOG, a sociopolitical magazine, will come out in place of the magazines AGITATOR and POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE.

The report also contains advice to prospective subscribers on how to avoid disappointment and adds that the purpose of the changes is "to raise the theoretical and professional standard of the party press and to make it truly mass-oriented."

PRAVDA Views Press Role in Perestroyka

PM1408121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Horizons of Our Press"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] It was noted at the conference of first secretaries of union republic communist party central committees and party kray committees and oblast committees held at the CPSU Central Committee that over the past few years our press has done a great deal to support the perestroyka policy and to mobilize the broad people's masses to implement it. The press has played and is playing an irreplaceable role in developing the democratization of Soviet society, glasnost, and people's social initiative and in the struggle against all those who are hampering our progress along the road of renewal. At the same time, it was also said that weaknesses in our press and a lack of competence and constructiveness in covering the complex and difficult work to assimilate new forms of social life are keenly felt. The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Certain Questions of the Perestroyka of the Central Party Press" adopted the other day is of great importance for improving mass media activity.

Our press can rightly be called the people's press. Readers show a great interest in it today. People expect profound and analytical discussions on many topical problems. And they expect research and analysis with constructive conclusions.

Take the subject of the economy, which Lenin considered the main subject for our newspapers. Many new things have appeared in this area recently: leasing, self-financing, cooperatives, and the extensive introduction of economic accountability. But why is leasing making such slow headway at enterprises and farms? Why are people by no means entirely satisfied with cooperatives? We find no in-depth answers in most newspapers, they restrict themselves merely to stating the facts. The same is true of the social sphere, where many acute problems have built up. The press is not sufficiently vigorous in seeking ways of solving them. Coverage of party life, whose perestroyka, as is well known, lags behind perestroyka in society, suffers in many publications from obsolete boilerplate and cliche.

At the same time, we know that there are collectives and even whole rayons and oblasts which have forged ahead in all areas. It is a most important task for the press to profoundly and graphically reveal the experience of their work in order to make it a convincing lesson for others. This particularly applies to the resolution of the food problem. After all, it is well known that food supplies can differ and sometimes present a stark contrast even between neighboring areas. And it is important, when discussing front-ranking experience, for newspapers to monitor the way in which it is introduced in other areas, to take this matter in hand, and to strive for real and tangible improvements.

Consistency and persistence are what is particularly required of journalists today. If something useful is begun it is important to bring it to a victorious conclusion. Both in propagandizing experience and in criticism. This often boils down at the moment to toothless attacks, which naturally disappoint readers. "You seem to have spoken out correctly," they write, "but there is no reaction and no results are visible." The natural question is: Why are party committees passive in such situations?

This is a serious question of our day—the intensification of party leadership of the press. After all, nobody has abolished party leadership in this area. Yet you get the impression that in certain areas party committees avoid this important work and let it slide, so to speak. The appearance of so-called informal publications is proof of that. These include publications which do useful work in protecting the environment or ancient monuments. But there are other publications whose content cannot be called anything other than antiparty and nationalist. And the most surprising thing is that they are sometimes printed on party printing presses.

Of course, party leadership of the press is a delicate matter. By no means everything in this area boils down to restrictions or the pointing out of blunders. Those party committees which organize regular briefings and study sessions for journalists, suggest examples of the best experience, and help them to ensure that criticism is effective are doing the right thing. [passage omitted]

Better Party-Komsomol Relations Encouraged

PM1508142489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Party and the Komsomol"]

[Text] "The party's militant helper and reserve." This tried and tested formula in relation to the Komsomol

[Leninist Communist Youth League] retains all its force to this day. But in former times it was interpreted in such a way that the actual relationship between party organs and our main youth organization was beginning to resemble military regulations: "If the party says: Do it! the Komsomol replies: It is done!"

Well, many generations of Soviet people who passed through the Komsomol school can rightly be proud of the best chapters in its history, which record young people's heroic military and labor achievements. The Komsomol steel bubbled and was tempered wherever ardent hearts and strong hands and the inexhaustible energy of youth were needed. But it remains a fact that the prolonged dominance of the authoritarian administrative edict system in our country left its mark on the youth league too.

Behind the spendid facade decked with orders and banners, behind the upper levels depicting rapid activity and abundantly turning out sonorous slogans and initiatives and ostentatious rallies and demonstrations, there was the mass of many millions of people "registered" as Komsomol members, a mass in which there was scarcely a glimmer of political and social life.

The winds of renewal have blown away the accustomed masks of well-being here too. A serious crisis has emerged in our biggest mass youth organization. Young people have become drawn toward active political life, they feel constrained by the narrow confines of formal "membership," informal associations of various kinds have sprung up and are springing up everywhere, including some that are in direct competition with official Komsomol structures.

Does this mean that the Komsomol has exhausted its potential as a leading organization concentrating the creative forces of young people, ideologically close to the party, and supplying it with cadres, energy, innovative endeavor, and youthful vigor? Nothing of the kind! Bureaucracy—an unnatural phenomenon among young people—has shown itself to be irrelevant and futile. And the "grass roots" themselves, finding a voice, have at last expressed their view that the Communist Youth League should become a living, energetic organization, active in various ways, as befits it, and not a mere ladder for careerists.

This is the kind of living youth organization that is necessary to a socialist society undergoing renewal, necessary to a party that is concerned for the country's future and its own future. The Komsomol in present-day conditions is envisaged as a purely voluntary, autonomous, independent organization made up of the politically active forces of young people. An organization that places the main emphasis not on quantity, but on the quality of its ranks, their spiritual and political maturity, and their breadth of interests, and uses these things to bring ideological and moral influence to bear on the masses of young people—working class, rural, school, student, and army young people.

As for the relationship between the party and the Komsomol, it should be based wholly on the Leninist principles and traditions of party leadership of the youth league, which means on a common ideological and political platform, mutual respect, and complete comradely trust. The party and Komsomol are called upon to work together on the renewal of Soviet society, involve young people in the practical affairs of perestroyka, and ensure through concrete results the political stability and irreversibility of the changes.

Some things have been done in this direction. People's deputies representing the All-Union Lenin Komsomol are working on various committees of the country's highest organ of state power. On the Komsomol's initiative, the USSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee was set up, and is operating actively. But all these are, of course, only the first steps in a great and complex cause.

The All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee plenum held the other day showed that the relationship between party committees and the Komsomol is by no means everywhere based on the principles proclaimed by the party and its 19th all-union conference. Recurrences of gross administrative pressure on Komsomol committees and inappropriate interference in cadre affairs and in the daily operations of youth organizations are still occurring in the localities. The telephone edict method of leadership of the Komsomol press is still the practice of certain party committees, along with the practice of summoning "disobedient" editors for a "dressing-down." Clearly the concept of the Komsomol as a kind of obedient auxiliary force working "to order," or as a foolish child, is too firmly rooted in such party organs.

It is time finally and irreversibly to put an end to this stereotype left over from the days of the cult and of stagnation. It is time to make it clear that the party should exercise its political and ideological influence on the Komsomol through dialogue, and first and foremost through young Communists working in the league. And not by monitoring the trivial details of every step, but by trusting them and counting on their commitment to the political line of perestroyka and their high awareness and sense of responsibility.

One of the main avenues of perestroyka in the Komsomol is its further democratization and the expansion of the rights and enhancement of the responsibility of local Komsomol organs and primary cells. It is important for Komsomol "primaries," as well as production and territorial committees, to feel responsible and act accordingly in the resolution of urgent economic and social problems and the whole range of questions concerning the life, work, and living conditions of young people.

The Komsomol's voice should be heard with full force at meetings and rallies and in the resolution of labor and social conflicts. It has no right to be defensive or take up isolationist positions, still less to act like a political sect.

And, of course, ideological spinelessness and philosophical eclecticism are contrary to the nature of an organization that calls itself communist. If a young person joins the Lenin Communist Youth Leage, joins it consciously and with a pure heart, we must strive to do everything to ensure that he really does become a young Communist. By his convictions, by his principles, and by his actions.

There are still many difficult, untrodden paths and steep passes to climb on the path of perestroyka. And it is vitally important that a renewed, enterprising Lenin Komsomol, full of young forces, marches with the party along that path, shoulder to shoulder.

Role of Extraordinary Soviet Sessions Pondered

PM0908113989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Kurasov article under the rubric "Topics of the Day": "Extraordinary Soviet Sessions"]

[Text] As already reported, on 1 August the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the resolution "On Holding Extraordinary Sessions of Soviets of People's Deputies." This resolution recommends holding such sessions throughout the country in August and September this year, with reports given by the executive and administrative bodies of soviets of people's deputies.

The sessions must comprehensively analyze the real situation at local level, while paying "particular attention," as the resolution states, "to implementing planned socioeconomic programs, reorganizing the structure and activity of organizations and services under the jurisdiction of the corresponding soviets, and decisively overcoming everything that undermines people's faith in restructuring."

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution offers food for serious thought. There is no doubt that it has been passed at the right time. This act once again emphasizes the role of local soviets, which are expected to be the effective vanguard of restructuring. But why has the initiative come from above in this case? After all, the situation that has taken shape in many regions of the country and the strikes and rallies where political and socioeconomic demands have been made should have spurred local soviets to immediate action, extraordinary sessions included. Why was it necessary to wait for a special USSR Supreme Soviet resolution to hold such sessions? Surely the leaders of soviet executive committees [ispolkoms], in Karaganda, Vorkuta, the Kuzbass, and Rostov Oblast, for example, must have been clearly aware that the situation was explosive and surely they must have seen where inexplicable deficiencies in the supply of cities and settlements with food and essential goods could sometimes lead?

This is where the people's elected representatives—people's deputies—should have stepped in to explain. And these explanations should primarily have been given from the tribune of soviet sessions rather than from improvised tribunes set up in streets and squares.

Commenting on the new resolution, M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said that recent events have shown very clearly that many local bodies of authority are waiting for everything to be decided at the center. But even today you can count dozens of oblasts which, in the last 2 or 3 years, have done an enormous amount of work in previously neglected rayons, put forward their own programs within the framework of restructuring, linked them to the real situation, and already achieved substantial results.

The extraordinary sessions of soviets of people's deputies must give a boost to this kind of work in all regions of the country. From now on, they will obviously be an effective instrument of soviet activity. All urgent questions and all the most topical tasks, whose resolution will tolerate no delay, will become the subject of painstaking, comprehensive deputy analysis at the sessions, which will be convened not on the basis of some calendar plan but at the demand of life itself.

Even this August and September must show how effectively deputies will be able to use this powerful lever—the extraordinary soviet session—for bringing about economic and social transformations.

Lecturer Discusses Party's Role in Perestroyka

PM1108103189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by L. Semina, senior lecturer at Moscow Higher Party School, under the rubric "Plain Speaking": "The Party Today. What Should It Be Like?"]

[Text] Shortly before the elections for USSR people's deputies an information association calling itself the Interclub Party Group held a discussion of a letter to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at Moscow's Political Enlightenment Center. The letter covered the need to convene an extraordinary party congress, without which, it claimed, it would be impossible to democratize the party. The Interclub Group members called on M.S. Gorbachev to stand firm in the struggle against conservatives and to support the idea of an extraordinary congress.

Why We Need a Party Debate

It was suggested that we who were invited to the session sign an appeal and collect signatures in our primary organizations. The faster we collected 6 million votes, the faster we would achieve results—that was roughly the Interclub Group's logic.

Not all those who attended, including myself, agreed with this logic. For instance, in my speech I said that, first, democratization is not a campaign or a one-shot act, but a process during which the life of the party and its members is being changed on a new basis, the

mechanisms and norms of intraparty activity are being restructured, and relations within the party are changing character; this process should affect and transform each Communist, it should not be introduced or replaced by appeals, Politburo instructions, or even Congress resolutions. Second, the party congress is the culmination rather than the start of this process; the entire party, having come through the state of collective consideration and discussion of urgent changes to it, having discovered and generalized the useful and promising experience of changes that have already taken place, and having worked out through its collective reason and in the most truly democratic fashion—with the help of partywide debates—the new regulations governing its activity, can also resolve the question of convening a congress. But imposing such a decision on it from above or indirectly—from the informal Interclub Group—would mean acting in an extremely undemocratic way and in the spirit of the worst times of individual dictatorship when the entire mass of Communists were seen by central organs as mere cogs in a machine for carrying out orders. And, in my view, it is quite unseemly for Communists advocating party democratization to demonstrate their respect for the general secretary in such a servile fashion and to see him as a "hero" who should save his foolish "flock."

The Interclub Group recently displayed in Pushkin Square the text of a new appeal for an extraordinary congress to be convened—an appeal now addressed to the entire party. It took account of the criticism... Although, as we can see, it did not abandon the tactic of imposing its own ideas. But, under the conditions of a partywide debate, this tactic can be viewed as active support for one's own opinion. If only other opinions were supported as actively and were not discredited merely for failing to coincide with somebody else's.

There is not very much time before the party congress—be it routine or extraordinary. But there are plenty of issues. The main issue is undoubtedly democratization. The fact that in the party this process lags behind the general democratization process is obvious. And this gives rise to serious contradictions in social life: After all, now that the party is setting the standards and the pace for social advance, its condition and feelings influence the general tone of perestroyka more than all other components. The popular discontent with the party apparatus reflects this contradiction: People are demanding that the party come into line with its own slogans. It is another matter that the identification of the party with the apparatus goes back to the old days when the latter was extolled while ordinary Communists were belittled; nowadays we should no longer be talking about the "bad" apparatus but about "conditional" Communists who, in terms of their qualities and theoretical training, are not equal to the party's tasks at the present-day stage. But, however one approaches it, the fact remains the same: The party still stubbornly preserves itself in its old Stalinist form as a cruel administrative-edict structure with a central "headquarters" and "drive mechanism" of primary organizations. And this hampers it: It lags behind the changes in life, cannot forestall undesirable processes, and is late in implementing positive processes. Active Communists often go off and "do their own thing" in more vital, flexible, down-to-earth, and effective unofficial movements.

At a seminar once, the students—practical party workers—and I discussed the organizational principle of party building and agreed that the absolutization of one aspect of it (the territorial and production aspect) and the underestimation of another (areas for party assignments or platforms) impermissibly narrow the sphere of Communists' influence on social life, impoverish the party itself, and rule out open struggles of opinions and blocs with other social organizations. On the other hand, overlooking the territorial and production side would remove the party from the sphere of material production and socioeconomic processes and deprive it of its main function—as Lenin saw it—of "organizer of the people's labor" (in the broad sense, of course). The principle of democratic centralism that forms the basis of the party's organization and vitality also assumes the organic combination within the party of vertical and horizontal structures rather than the highlighting of certain structures in isolation. Returning to the Leninist model of a democratically organized party, the corresponding changes ought now to be made to the CPSU statutes as well.

The democratization of the party presupposes the revision, reanalysis, and renewal of literally every aspect of party life: from its social role to Communists' grasp of ideology under the new conditions. It should be said that not everything in this area nowadays is simple. The party's role as the directing, integrating, and coordinating force is denied by those who prefer political posing with no sense of purpose. The revolutionary essence of communist philosophy is distorted, with revolutionary attitudes being presented as violence rather than as a necessity for accelerating the qualitative transformations of reality. The teachings of communism are misrepresented and divorced from common human ideals, although it was the "Communist Party Manifesto" that proclaimed the aim of the "free development of each individual," and this development alone and the desire for its implementation defined the yardstick for all Communists' actions. Voices can be heard that reject democratic centralism and are scared of it, even though the practice of perestroyka convinces us that this principle is universal and objectively present in any activity—not least political activity—that there is no democracy without order, and that undemocratic order, like nonideological organization, is an absurdity and an unnatural state.

But if complexities and ambiguities have built up, they should be discussed. Discussion—let us remember Lenin—is a mandatory and necessary element in intraparty democracy, a guarantee of genuine glasnost, openness, and the creative development of the party itself and its theory, a forum for any opinion and, at the same time, a controller of the state of the party and its maturity, and

a tool for elaborating a collective decision on the basis of agreement rather than pressure, when somebody's opinion is put forward and everybody else acts as extras, raising their hands.

The need for precisely such plain speaking was discussed at the recent Moscow CPSU City Committee plenum which adopted a resolution to hold a citywide debate in the capital on the party's life, activity, prestige, and place in present-day society.

The debate will help us to reveal today and eradicate the inherited mechanism of manipulating the party masses. This, I think, is the essence of the forthcoming democratization of the party. [The article is accompanied by the following footnote]

So Plain Speaking Has Started. We Await Your Response

It was readers' letters and phone calls that suggested to us the need to start a debate on the highly topical subject of the party and perestroyka. Very many Muscovites consider it necessary to set up a kind of debating society at the city's newspaper. We accept this proposal. We want to initiate its work with today's items. Anyone can take part in it, irrespective of party membership, age, or profession. The main thing is a commitment to resolve the questions under discussion and to struggle for the lofty prestige of the party, the purity of its ranks, and the democratization of intraparty and all social life. We promise, without glossing over different opinions and positions, to openly and comprehensively discuss current relations between the party apparatus on the one hand and grassroots party organizations and the capital's Communists on the other, the form taken by the practice of democratic centralism, the way in which power is being transferred to the soviets in practice, the expansion of glasnost in the party, mutual relations between party organizations and informal associations, and the way in which ideological work should be based under present-day conditions. And there are many other problems—the renewal of party worker cadres, relations with youth movements, tactics during the forthcoming local soviet elections, organizational and financial matters...

In publishing the first letters, we are counting on your activeness and interest, esteemed readers. The discussion will be complex. And we must strive to conduct it aiming to be constructive and to produce proposals which the capital's party organization and Muscovites could put to the 28th CPSU Congress. This will be a weighty contribution to the implementation of the ideas of perestroyka begun by the Leninist party and supported by the entire people.

Committee Raps Formation of 'Union of Zionists'

PM0908115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "There Should Be No Room for Zionism"]

[Text] The anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public Presidium has issued a statement. The inaugural congress of a sociopolitical organization called the "Union of Zionists" was held in Moscow in early August, it says; this organization's tasks include "a strong orientation toward Israel, Jewish Israeli culture, and the ideology of religious Zionism." According to L. Gorodetskiy, one of the initiators of this action, this organization, which also includes militant groups, is to conduct the "Zionization" and "Israelization" of the USSR's Jewish population. One of the Zionist party's functions "is—given its principled nonparticipation in the restructuring of life in the USSR—to fight for the survival of Jews here as a people." The president of the World Zionist Organization congratulated the participants in the "assembly" and assured them that the new formation can count on aid and support from Western Zionists.

We consider it our duty to state the following:

The survival of the Jews as a people, like the survival of all Soviet people as a people, is now dependent in many respects on the fate of our perestroyka. While stressing the alienation of some of the Jewish population from involvement in perestroyka and while stressing the notorious "Israelization" of Soviet Jews, the Zionists cannot help but realize that their actions are kindling anti-Jewish sentiment within the country. This is the very instance where the militant Zionism proclaimed by the United Nations to be a form of racism and racial discrimination is used against the interests of Jewish working people and ends in practice with reactionary anti-Semitism.

In connection with the reactionary forces' machinations the Antizionist Committee of the Soviet Public Presidium states its invariable principled stance: There must be no room for Zionism or anti-Semitism in our country. Chauvinist and racist theories are beyond socialist pluralism.

We regard the attempt to create the "Union of Zionists" political organization in our country as a gross provocation against perestroyka and against our values and ideals and as a deliberate attempt to kindle yet another seat of tension in interethnic relations, which is fraught with dangerous consequences, the document stresses.

Muslim Spiritual Life Labeled 'Brisker'

LD2408100589 Moscow TASS in English 0927 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Kazan August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondents Rashid Akhmetov and Nikolay Sorokin:

The Muslim spiritual life has lately become brisker in the USSR. "As many as 56 new communities have been registered on the territory of the European part of the USSR and Siberia over the perestroyka years", Mufti Talgat Tadjuddin, 40, chairman of the Ecclesiastical Board of Muslims residing in those areas, said.

"Several dozens of communities in Tataria, Bashkiriya and other areas are to be registered this year", he said.

The new communities and mosques need skilled clergymen. A two-year madrasah has therefore been opened by the ecclesiastical board in Ufa this year.

The first course enrollment has so far numbered 70 people at the age from 20 to 55. The number of applicants was much bigger. There were no examinations. The candidates were strictly chosen on the basis of a thorough interview. Many students have a good grounding and diplomas of higher and secondary specialized educational establishments.

Apart from religious subjects, the students study philosophy, Soviet legislation, Arabic and English, and also the old Tatar language in which thousands of religious and secular books were written over many decades.

"Apart from training clergymen in Ufa, we are seeking to increase enrollment of our students to such Soviet educational establishments as the Bukhara Mir-Arab madrasah and the Tashkent al-Buhari Institute. About 30 graduates from these educational establishments are serving at our ecclesiastical board's mosques," the mufti said.

Restrictions on Shortwave Sets May Be Removed

PM1108094789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Mostovshchikov: "Glasnost on Shortwave Too"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Communications and other interested departments have prepared a document whose ratification will enable industry to produce radio receivers for the home market which are capable of picking up programs broadcast on shortwave frequencies below 25 meters.

In most cases it never occurred to the ordinary purchaser before to wonder why our Spidola and VEF radios do not work below 25 meters in the shortwave band. That's the standard, it was explained. And there is nothing new on 13, 16, or 19 meters. It's the same set of broadcasts. However, few people were aware that we make radios for export that receive a wider shortwave band.

As the USSR Ministry of Communications acknowledges, the explanation for this was not just commercial. The artificial reduction in frequency range simply made it technically easier to jam foreign radio stations.

The question remains open whether the equipment producers will respond to the change in the situation. We contacted I. Glebov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry Main Scientific and Technical Administration:

"We expect ratification of the decision, which will enable us to change the existing standards," Igor Georgiyevich said. "We are able to make European-standard radios and would be able to organize their bulk production by 1991. We only await authorization. We hope to receive the relevant document before the year is out. In my view, there are no longer any grounds for bans here."

Kiev Veterans Support Perestroyka at Meeting

PM1408090189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by S. Paliychuk: "We Resolutely Reject Petlyura Symbolism"]

[Excerpts] Almost each one of these people who gathered on Saturday 29 July on the square outside the republican stadium has behind him unique experience of life, very great ordeals which they have withstood, retaining loyalty to the motherland and to Lenin's ideals. The veterans who have passed through the fire of the very bloody war against fascism and the internationalist servicemen whose youth in our time was burnt up by the war in Afghanistan expressed themselves resolutely at this meeting in favor of the continuation and deepening of the processes of perestroyka, of the businesslike solution of urgent economic, social, and ecological problems, the flowering of a socialist Ukraine within the family of equal Soviet republics, firm law and order, and the welfare of their children and grandchildren.

Those taking part in the meeting resolutely rebuffed the attempts of nationalist and anticommunist elements to blacken our party. The resolution adopted at the meeting stressed: "We have never identified Stalin and the Stalinists with the party, because we saw thousands and thousands of real Leninists in the frontline trenches, at the lathes, and on the grain fields."

"Having opened up the path of perestroyka, the CPSU today has given every person the opportunity to express his own opinion on any question," said a participant in the antifascist resistance in Buchenwald, G.P. Mikhaylyuk, chairman of the presidium of the council of the organization of former inmates of the fascist concentration camps. "This has been exploited by people who stand on anti-Soviet, anticommunist positions and also by unprincipled politics mongers who only yesterday received awards for praising the other of 'Malaya Zemlya.' Now they are trying to pull the wool over the eyes of young people, putting into play the methods of Goebbels' propaganda with which we have long been familiar, and dragging Petlyura's [reference to Ukrainian nationalist] banner and trident out of mothballs. Young people! Ask your older relations who sent the Ukrainian youth to penal labor under Hitler, who killed, plundered, and raped on the temporarily occupied territory. What flowers, what emblems did those fascist collaborators carry? We shall not allow interethnic enmity to be kindled, we shall not permit a repetition of what is happening in Nagorno-Karabakh or Abkhaziya! [passage omitted]

The meeting was held in the full blaze of the sun, in the searing heat of the square where there was no cover from the scorching rays of the sun. Surely the Kiev City soviet executive committee could have given these most worthy and no longer young fellow citizens of ours a more appropriate place to hold the meeting."

And the fact that these people came to the square next to the republican stadium and said the important things they had to say deserves all the more respect.

Kirghiz Presidium Decree Renames City of Rybachye

LD1108091589 Frunze SOVETTIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz 29 Jul 89 p 1

["Decree of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. To rename the city of Rybachye as Issyk-Kul.

2. To make Issyk-Kul City an administrative center of Issyk-Kul Oblast.

T. Akmatov, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
A. Mirzaliyeva, secretary of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
City of Frunze, 28 July 1989

Agricultural

'Record Grain Harvest in Kalmykia' Reported

PM2408131189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[V. Furmanov report: "Narrowing the Zone of Risk. Record Grain Harvest in Kalmykia"]

[Excerpts] Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—The threshing of cereals has ended on Kalmykia's sun-drenched steppe. In all their long history the local meadows have never known such a harvest. The record of 1978, when an average [v krugovuyu] of 19.2 quintals per hectare were threshed, has been beaten. Henceforth the yardstick will be this year's 21.5 quintals of high-quality grain. If that figure seems modest to some people, they should look at the map: The 400,000 hectares of agricultural land hereabouts is located in the most drought-prone region of southeastern Russia, where the temperature can rise to 50 degrees but rain is scarce. Even in this risky zone for crop farming, the Kalmyk grain farmers "risk" more than the rest. [passage omitted]

It is also important that this year the autonomous republic has sold almost 220,000 tonnes of high-quality grain—that is, more than one-fourth [presumably of total grain production] as against the 12 or so percent average for the previous 3 years of the 5-year plan. The total amount of wheat delivered to the elevators has increased by between 30 and 50 percent. [passage omitted]

21-24 Aug Agricultural Developments Reported

LD2508031589

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 21-24 August, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

21 August

Don farmers have already dispatched more than 500,000 tonnes of strong and almost 2 million tonnes of valuable bread grain to state storage stations. (0204)

Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]: Farms in southern rayons have begun harvesting maize for grain. More than 150,000 hectares have been sown with this crop in the republic this year. (0400)

In Altay the first 200,000 tonnes of new harvest grain have been delivered. (0900)

The Altay elevators have taken 200,000 tonnes of grain of the new harvest. Primarily this is early grain rye and winter crops of wheat and pea. Although they have not finished threshing of winter crops, the collective and state farms have already fulfilled the state plan for rye delivery and are now selling above-plan produce. Many grain-acceptance enterprises have gone over to round-the-clock work. Following the winter crops the spring ones—barley and oats—have started arriving here. They are being mowed and threshed in all the soil-climatic zones of the kray. (1100)

Collective and state farms in Tambov Oblast have handed over 600,000 tonnes of grain from the new harvest and have begun threshing the late crops of millet and buckwheat. (1400)

22 August

Virtually all Uzbek oblasts are harvesting maize for grain today. First results are disappointing, with yields per hectare almost everywhere lower than last year. (0400)

Kazakhstan: All the northern oblasts have started large scale harvesting of bread grain. So far 36 percent of all cereals have been harvested and threshed. Some 6.5 million tonnes of grain have arrived at the threshing floors of collective and state farms. (0600)

The harvest is completed in the Stavropolskiy Kray, with practically all farms harvesting over 30 quintals per hectare, and farms in several rayons of the kray have fulfilled the planned task of the 5-year plan in the sale of grain to the state 1 year ahead of schedule. (1950)

In the Krasnoyarksiy Kray, farmers in the Shushinskiy rayon are among the first to sell grain to the state and up to 28 quintals per hectare is being threshed, or 12 quintals per hectare more than the kray on average. (1950)

23 August

Kirghiz SSR: To date, bread grains in the republic have been cut on 300,000 hectares. (0204)

Kirghiziya: Bread grains in the republic have been cut to date on 70 percent of allocated acreage. (0400)

Ryazan Oblast: To date almost 1,500,000 tonnes of silage mass from maize have been laid in trenches for public livestock. The maize-for-fodder harvest has been a good one. (0400)

Altay elevators have received the first 200,000 tonnes of grain. Most of this harvest consists of early grain crops, rye, winter wheat and peas. (1100)

The harvesting of cereals has ended in northern Ossetia. Foremost farms achieved 40 quintals despite difficult weather conditions. Only strong and valuable varieties have been poured into state granaries. (1100)

In Tajikistan, potato harvesting is now underway in the mountainous areas of the republic. (1430)

In the Altay Kray, the harvest of maize for silage has begun. It is good in the eastern and foothills areas of the republic and extremely poor in the Kulandinskaya Steppe, which was hit by drought. To speed up the hay-making, some silage combines are being transferred from the steppe to areas where the harvest is good. However, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply is letting the Siberians down badly. (1430)

Semipalatinsk Oblast has begun mass sowing of winter crops; they will occupy 285,000 hectares. (1500)

24 August

Krasnodar Kray: Sunflower harvesting starts today in southern rayons. Seeds have to be gathered on almost one-third of a million hectares and 600,000 tonnes have to be sold to the state. Mass harvesting of the crop is being notably held back because many elevators can't receive seeds. So far they are filled with bread grains which have not been moved through the fault of the railway. (0204)

The USSR State Committee for Statistics has reported that by 21 August, grain and leguminous crops, excluding maize, had been threshed on 64,400,000 hectares in the country. That is 61 percent of sowings. Last week augmented the harvested areas—almost 11 million hectares, 2 million more than the preceding 7-day period. The harvest is under way in the central, northwestern, northern, Volga, Volga-Vyatka, Urals, west Siberian and east Siberian regions. One-third of sowings have been threshed in Kazakhstan. (0600)

TASS correspondents report on harvesting: Specialized state farms of Altay have started harvesting potatoes. This crop takes the area of more than 3,000 hectares. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0900 GMT)

Scientific

'Progress M' Docks With 'Mir' Station

LD2508080289 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The "Progress-M" automatic cargo spacecraft docked with the orbital complex "Mir" at 0919, Moscow time [0519 GMT], today. The mutual search, approach, rendezvous and docking were carried out by means of the onboard automatic equipment of the two spacecraft.

The "Progress-M" spacecraft, docked with the "Mir" station from the side of the transfer compartment, brought fuel for the joint propulsion unit, food, water, equipment, and scientific instrumentation.

The improved cargo spacecraft of a new series has greater manoeuvrability, carrying capacity and functioning endurance, which makes it possible to perform scientific experiments both in conjunction with the orbital complex and in an autonomous flight.

The onboard systems of the "Soyuz-TM" spaceship were used in creating this cargo spacecraft: the radiotechnical approach and docking system "course", the movement control system, the propulsion unit, and solar-cell batteries.

New technical solutions make it possible to dock the "Progress-M" spacecraft with the orbital complex according to a scheme adopted for manned spaceships, which considerably cuts down the expenditure of fuel by the joint propulsion unit of the "Mir" station.

The flight of the orbital complex "Mir" in an automatic mode is going on.

Scientific Satellite Launch Due in September

LD2408201789 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] A heavy satellite is to be launched from the Plesetsk cosmodrome in the north of the Soviet Union late next month to study powerful electromagnetic waves and their interaction with space plasma. The European socialist countries, participants in the Intercosmos program, as well as the United States, Canada, Brazil, Japan, New Zealand, and a number of other countries, are taking part in the project. The leader of the project, Valentin Shevchenko, of Moscow says that 8 days after the launch the satellite will release a 20-meter antenna and later a small space vehicle will separate from the satellite to move around it in a complicated orbit that will take it up to 100 km away from the satellite. The results of the experiment will have major applied significance. For example, they will be used to develop space communications and predict earthquakes.

Technology Oversight Committee Formed

LD2408181289 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS—The 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly has passed a resolution entitled "Achievements of Science and Technology and Their Effect on International Security", envisaging the formation of teams of experts in UN member states with a view to keeping an eye on scientific and technological achievements that could be used potentially for military

purposes, it has been learned at the Soviet Foreign Ministry. In keeping with this call of the world community, a national team of experts has been set up in the Soviet Union to evaluate and prognosticate the possible military use of scientific and technological achievements. It will look into the question of how such achievements affect international security, will periodically inform the UN secretary general on the results of its work and will disseminate UN-prepared evaluations in the USSR. The work of the team, including prominent Soviet scientists, will be carried on in close contact with the Soviet Scientists Committee for Peace, Aainst the Nuclear Threat, headed by Roald Sagdeyev.

Formation of the team is expected to promote under UN aegis of fruitful cooperation in the effort to impose restrictions on the development of ever more destructive and dangerous types and systems of weapons, contribute to transition from the principle of superarmaments to the principle of reasonable defence sufficiency, from senseless and dangerous military rivalry to the joint strengthening of peace and international security.

Military

1989 Military Space Program Costs $6.24 Billion

AU2508095089 Paris AFP in English 0925 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug 25 (AFP)—The Soviet Union will allocate 3.9 billion rubles (6.24 billion dollars) to its 1989 military space programme, the Communist Party Central Committee's weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTI said Friday.

The total cost of the civil and military space programme is 6.9 billion rubles (11 billion dollars) of which 1.3 billion rubles (2 billion dollars) has been allocated to the Bourane shuttle project.

The United States has allocated 29.6 billion dollars to its space programme, of which 22.8 billion is for military purposes, the weekly said.

Tu-160 Strategic Bomber Described

PM2408122389

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 18 August in its Second Edition carries on pages 4 and 8 under the headline "They Write Their Autographs in the Sky" a 7,700-word feature by V. Izgarshev, A. Pokrovskiy, and A. Tarasov on a roundtable discussion chaired by M. Korolev on the eve of the opening of an "unprecedented" airshow of civil and military aircraft in Moscow. It includes remarks by "the country's leading aircraft designers, chiefs of the largest experimental design bureaus and scientific research institutes, test pilots, and specialists from the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry." One of the speakers, A. Kandalov, deputy general designer at the Moscow A.N. Tupolev machine building plant, is quoted as saying: "The TU-160 is a strategic bomber, which has already been described in the press. Its speed is over 2,000 km per hour. It weighs 275 tonnes. Its range is in the order of 8,000 km. Despite the fact that it is strategic, it is nevertheless a defensive aircraft. In the sense that it was made to counter the American B-1 aircraft, which were conceived as strategic strike bombers targeted against our country."